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## SOME POETICAL MISCELLANIES OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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THE eighteenth century, and particularly its first half, was a period in which the anthology, or miscellany, played an extremely important part as a method of publication for poetry. A great many of the leading poets of the time first printed their shorter poems—or some of them—in various collections of composite authorship, and a knowledge of the more important miscellanies of the period is essential to any one who is to attempt to edit an eighteenth-century poet, and to establish the canon of his work.

These miscellanies are of two kinds—those which, in their contents, look back to an earlier time, and are chiefly filled with poems by poets of the Restoration period, and those which are filled with work which was, most of it, contemporary and making, in these miscellanies, its first appearance in print. It has occurred to me that it might be useful to enumerate, with comments, some of the more important of the latter class. My reasons for thinking this are that these miscellanies are comparatively little known except to specialists, that they are very rapidly increasing in value, and that they are every year becoming harder to obtain at any price. Few of our libraries are adequately equipped with these books, and it has seemed to

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society on 21 October 1929.

me that to draw up what one might call a 'short list' of some of them might be to supply librarians with information as to which miscellanies they ought to attempt to acquire (before it is too late) as volumes indispensable to students of English poetry of the early eighteenth century. My aim in this paper, then, is merely to draw attention to the books which are, as it were, the corner-stones of the building. Books which it is, moreover, especially important to secure now for our libraries, since it is extremely unlikely that many of them will ever be reprinted. Their acquaintance must be made in the original editions or not at all—and it is probable that this will long remain so.

The first miscellany to which I propose to draw your attention is the following :

A New / Miscellany / Of Original / Poems, / On Several Occasions. / Written by the / [names arranged in two columns with two vertically placed brackets between] E. of D. Sir Charles Sidney, Sir Fleetw. Shepheard, Mr. Wolesly, Mr. Granvill, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Stepney, Mr. Rowe. / And several other Eminent Hands. / Never before Printed. / [Rule] / London, / Printed for Peter Buck, at the Sign of the Temple / in Fleet-street; and George Strahan, at the Golden- / Ball, over against the Royal-Exchange in Corn- / hil. 1701. /

Title printed in black and red within border of double rules.  
Octavo.

*Signatures* : A-Y in eights, Z four leaves. The first four leaves of each sheet are signed. Signatures are, however, omitted on A<sub>3</sub>, P<sub>3</sub>, P<sub>4</sub>, U<sub>3</sub>, Y<sub>3</sub>, and (of course) Z<sub>3</sub> and Z<sub>4</sub>. C<sub>2</sub> is mis-signed as G<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>2</sub> as E<sub>2</sub>, and U<sub>4</sub> as U<sub>3</sub>.

*Pagination* : p. [i] title. p. [ii] blank. pp. [iii-x] 'Epistle Dedicatory'. 'To the Honourable Benedict, Leonard Calvert Esquire'. pp. [xi-xv] Contents. p. [xvi] Errata. pp. 1-341 text. p. [342] blank. p. [343] 'Books Printed for and Sold by Geo. Strahan'. p. [344] blank.

This miscellany, which was edited by Charles Gildon, is, bibliographically, a highly curious book. In the first place,

though it is an octavo (in which the chain-lines usually run up and down the page), it has chain-lines running across the pages. Where, however, cancel-leaves have been inserted, these have vertical chain-lines. Moreover, these cancel-leaves in themselves bring us a curious problem to solve.

Many years ago I bought a copy of this miscellany, and, on examining it, I noticed that pp. 9-16 (ll. B5-B8) were missing, and that in their places were pp. 59-64 (three leaves) followed by pp. [ix] and [x] (one leaf—the last of the 'Epistle Dedicatory'). On looking further, it became evident that these were cancel-leaves which had been inserted in error in this place, without the removal of the four leaves they were intended to cancel. In other words, my copy contained both the original and the cancel states of the leaves A5, E6, E7, and E8. The points of difference and the reasons for cancelling these four leaves became quite clear on comparing the two states of each leaf. A5 was cancelled because Gildon evidently did not wish his name to appear at the end of the 'Epistle Dedicatory', and on the cancel state of the leaf his signature is omitted (as is, for no clear reason, the catchword 'The'); the leaf, however, has not been reset. E6, E7, and E8 were cancelled because in the original state the numbers indicating the divisions of Lady Winchilsea's poem 'The Spleen', which begins on E6 verso (p. 60) were omitted. In the cancel leaves (which have been entirely reset) these numbers are restored, two omitted words have also been restored on E8 verso (p. 64), and the heading of the poem has been altered from simply 'The Spleen' to 'The Spleen, a Pindarick Ode'. Presumably these three leaves of signature E were cancelled after the type of the section had been distributed, otherwise there seems to be no reason why p. 59 (E6 recto), in which no alteration was necessary, should have been reset too.

The difficulty immediately arises as to how these four leaves could possibly occur, in my copy, instead of the last four leaves

of signature B. And I must confess that I was unable to solve the puzzle. Dr. McKerrow, however, to whom I showed the book, lit on the only possible solution, which (to quote his words) 'is that it was found necessary to cancel B<sub>1</sub>, 2, 3, 4 (pp. 1-8) 'as well as pp. 59-64 and A<sub>5</sub> (last leaf of dedication), and that 'the printer printed the eight new leaves as an 8vo, possibly 'inserting them at the end of the book. The binder of your 'copy, being a careless man, sees that there is an extra signature 'B at the end, assumes without further investigation that this 'is to be substituted for the original B, and does this.'

Happily it has been possible, since then, to prove that Dr. McKerrow was right. I saw in a bookshop a made-up copy of this miscellany, one leaf of which, B<sub>2</sub>, had been supplied, by an extraordinary chance, from a different setting of the type —no doubt the earlier setting which Dr. McKerrow's solution postulated. This original B<sub>2</sub> differed from the cancel in, *inter alia*, having no bracket before the catchword at the foot of p. 3.

Even this, however, does not exhaust the bibliographical peculiarities of Gildon's miscellany, for it was reissued later with a cancel title-page which reads thus :

A New / Collection / Of Original / Poems, / On Several Occasions. / *Written by the most Eminent Hands.* / Never before Printed. / [ornament, signed 'F. H.' i.e. Francis Hoffmann] / London : / Printed for G. Strahan, at the *Golden Ball* over / against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. /

This cancel title is, I think, much later in date—probably later than 1715, for my copy, which appears to be in its original binding, has inserted in error, between sheets L and M, twelve leaves from another book, on the first of which is a poem called 'A Race at Sheriff-Muir, Fairly run, on the 13th November, 1715'. Moreover, I do not remember noticing Hoffmann's initials on woodcut ornaments used in books at all early in the

century. My general impression (but this I have not verified by any exhaustive search) is that he flourished in the 'twenties and 'thirties. Anyhow, we can take it that this undated cancel-title went with a considerably later reissue of the unsold sheets of this book.

A word as to the contents of Gildon's miscellany. As the original title-page indicates, it is to some extent retrospective. But among its authors were such important eighteenth-century writers as George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), George Steppeny, and Nicholas Rowe, who are named on the title-page. Among the anonymous poems are four by Lady Winchilsea, and John Philips's 'Splendid Shilling', here called only 'Imitation of Milton'. There is an 'Epistle to Mr. Congreve, occasion'd by his Comedy call'd, The Way of the World', by Steele, and there is 'Heraclitus', by Prior. There is, moreover, a poem, 'Advice to a Lover', which is published as 'By Mr. Yalden'—that is to say Thomas Yalden (1670-1736). There seems to be no reason to doubt the attribution, but the verses are so charming and witty that they were attributed to Prior by Nichols in his *Select Collection of Poems*, of 1780. They are also printed as 'attributed to Prior' in A. R. Waller's edition of Prior published in 1907 by the Cambridge University Press. Waller took his text from another miscellany with which we will deal to-day, Fenton's *Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems*, in which the verses appeared anonymously under the title of 'Against Modesty in Love'. I cannot help feeling that it is a shame that Yalden should be thus robbed of by far his best poem.

The next book on my list is the one I have just mentioned, that is to say :

Oxford / And / Cambridge / Miscellany / Poems. / [Rule] / *Floribus insidunt variis.* / Virg. AEn. 6. / [Rule] / London : / Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the *Cross-Keys*, / between the Two *Temple-Gates*, in *Fleet-street*. /

## Octavo.

*Signatures* : 1 leaf unsigned. A-Z and Aa-Cc in eights.

*Pagination* : p. [i] blank. p. [ii] frontispiece engraved by M. van der Gucht. p. [iii] title. p. [iv] blank. pp. [v-ix] Epistle Dedicatory 'To the Right Honourable Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex', signed E. Fenton. pp. [x-xv] Contents. p. [xvi] Errata. p. [xvii] half-title to the first poem. p. [xviii] blank. pp. 1-400 text.

pp. 39 and 48 are misnumbered 36 and 84 respectively.

There are several cancel-leaves. The following I feel sure are such: D<sub>4</sub>, L<sub>1-3</sub>, M<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>8</sub> (signed S || I), Z<sub>3</sub>, and Bb<sub>1</sub>. Leaves M<sub>6</sub> and 7 have the peculiarity of being signed MN and MN<sub>2</sub>—I presume they are cancels, as may also be M<sub>8</sub>, but I can see no stubs. Again, Y<sub>5</sub> and Y<sub>6</sub> are signed (whereas in most sections only the first four leaves have signatures); presumably these are cancels, but I do not like to dogmatize about certain other leaves in Y, or about Aa<sub>4</sub> and 5, as I have a suspicion that my copy (which is rebound) may have been 'made-up'. L<sub>6</sub> is signed L\* \* and is probably a cancel also.

Fenton's miscellany is undated, but was published in 1707 or 1708, certainly not later than March 1708, as is proved by a presentation copy inscribed 'Th. Fuller ex dono Elija Fenton 1707' in Fuller's writing. This copy is, or was recently, in the possession of Messrs. Elkin Mathews, Ltd.

As to the Contents of Fenton's miscellany. There are some pieces by Prior, of which the most famous is the 'Simile', beginning

Dear Thomas, didst thou never pop  
Thy Head into a Tinman's Shop?

There is also the lyric beginning

Fair Sylvia, cease to blame my youth  
For having loved before,

which has been attributed both to Bishop Atterbury and to Prior. Other contributions are 'An Imitation of Horace's 6th Ode, apply'd to the Duke of Marlborough. By Captain R. S.',

who I imagine may have been Steele; 'A Bachanalian Song. By Mr. Phillips', i.e. John Philips, the author of 'Cyder' and 'The Spendid Shilling', this being his only extant lyric; a group of short pieces by George Stepney; and poems by Garth, Motteux, and many others, including Fenton himself. Among Fenton's own pieces the best is the charming lyric called 'The Rose', which is inserted anonymously. Most interesting of all, perhaps, are three pastorals by Ambrose Philips, which are usually said to have appeared first in the sixth part, 1709, of the series of miscellanies known as Dryden's or Tonson's. That, incidentally, is a book which might be included in this paper for discussion; but I have felt that, since it is a part of a series which mostly refers to an earlier period, it might conveniently be dismissed with a mere reference.

Let me pass, therefore, to the next important miscellany, Lintott's, which was published in May 1712. Although, or rather because, this is the best-known and most remarkable miscellany of its period, I propose to cut my notice of it rather short, since space and time are valuable, and the book is not one likely to escape the notice of librarians or other scholars. The reason for this is, of course, that it is a book of high importance in the bibliography of Pope. The first three editions appeared, the first in octavo, 1712, the second, also in octavo, in 1714, and the third, in two volumes duodecimo, 1720. There were others in 1722, 1726, 1727, and 1732, each in two volumes duodecimo. Collations of all these editions are to be found in Professor Griffith's *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography*, vol. i, published at Austin, Texas, in 1922. To that, and to my friend Professor A. E. Case's forthcoming bibliography of English poetical miscellanies up to 1750, the reader may be referred for collations of this miscellany. For my present purpose it will be enough to emphasize the fact that the second edition is nothing but the sheets of the first edition, with a new title-page and the addition of two leaves

after p. 320 and of fifty pages (one unsigned leaf and signatures Cc to Ee) at the end. For textual purposes, therefore, the second edition may be taken to be as good as—if not better than—the first. Of the later editions most (if not all—but I have not seen them all personally) contain additional pieces.

Of the Contents of Lintott's miscellany the most important are the various contributions by Pope, particularly the first version of *The Rape of the Lock*, which first appeared in the 1712 edition—but Pope's contributions to this miscellany are too well-known to need comment. His two colleagues in Homeric translation, Broome and Fenton, are also to be found here, as are Prior, Yalden, Edmund Smith, and John Gay. The last-named is represented by an important group of poems, one of which is that 'On a Miscellany of Poems: to Bernard Lintott', which was specially written for the 1712 edition; and 'Sweet William's Farewell to Black-ey'd Susan' made its first appearance in this miscellany (though not, by a few months, its first appearance in print) in the third edition of 1720.

My treatment of Lintott's miscellany is, I must admit, perfunctory, but were it otherwise there would be no room in this paper for any other book—and that must be my excuse.

In the same year as Lintott's second edition are dated two other valuable and entertaining poetical collections. The first in importance, and in date, since it is said to have been issued in December 1713, was that edited by Richard Steele:

Poetical / Miscellanies / Consisting of / Original Poems / And / Translations. / By the best Hands. / [Rule] / Publish'd by Mr. Steele. / [Rule] / London : / Printed for Jacob Tonson at Shake-spear's Head over-against Catherine-street / in the Strand. MDDCXIV. /

Octavo.

Signatures: 1 leaf unsigned. A-X in eights.

Pagination: p. [i] blank. p. [ii] frontispiece by Laguerre, engraved by Lud.

du Guernier. p. [iii] title. p. [iv] blank. pp. [v-xii] Dedication 'To Mr. Congreve'. Signed 'Richard Steele'. pp. [xiii-xviii] 'The Contents'. pp. [1]-318 text, beginning with a half-title for the first poem. pp. [319-20] blank. p. 317 misprinted 217.

It is to be noted that the following leaves are cancels : A7, E4, G6, G8, P1, and P2. Of these all except G8 have chain-lines running across the pages, instead of up-and-down, as is usual in octavos. This peculiarity also affects the whole of sections A, U, and X ; G8 has perpendicular chain-lines, as has all the rest of the book except the three sections I have mentioned.

It is often said that this book exists in two issues, of which that just described is the first ; and that the second issue has the date correctly printed MDCCXIV. In the correctly dated copies, however, there are other points of difference. The frontispiece is printed, not on a separate leaf, but on A1 verso, bringing the title on to A2 recto, and making the Dedication occupy the whole of leaves A3-A6. The Contents, therefore, have had to be compressed into four pages (leaves A7 and A8) instead of occupying six pages as in the misdated copies. But there are still further differences, and an examination of the remainder of the book makes it clear that it is a page for page, and line for line, reprint of the misdated book, the whole type having been reset and—occasionally—an ornament changed. Incidentally, Professor Griffith, in the book already referred to, says that the same ornaments are used in the two—but this is not always true, as, for example, on p. 88. The leaves which are cancels in the MDCCXIV copies are, of course, not so in those dated MDCCXIV. Therefore it is clear that we have here to deal with two different editions, and not two variants of one edition. The distinction, however, is seldom observed by booksellers. I fancy there can be no doubt that the misdated edition is the earlier. A so-called second (really third) edition appeared in 1727 in duodecimo. About a dozen pieces

were added to this volume, and they include an epigram by Pope 'To Sir Godfrey Kneller, on his painting for me the Statues of Apollo, Venus, and Hercules'. According to Elwin and Courthope (vol. iv, p. 452) this was 'first published in a note to Warton's edition of Pope's Works', i.e. in 1797. It had, however, previously been printed by Nichols in 1780 in his *Select Collection* (vol. iv, p. 300). But the appearance in the 1727 edition of Steele's Miscellany antedates either of these by a long way, and has, I think, escaped general notice.

Several pieces by Pope made their first appearance in the original edition of Steele's collection, as did four poems by Gay (another, doubtfully by him, is among the additional matter of 1727—printed anonymously). Other poets who contributed were Tickell, Parnell, Budgell, Eusden (Poet Laureate), William Harrison, and Steele himself. A much-quoted epigram (p. 49) 'Upon a Company of bad Dancers to good Musick'—

How ill the Motion with the Musick suits !  
So Orpheus fiddled, and so danced the Brutes.

—is by George Jeffreys (1678–1755), and there is another poem by him, also anonymous, on p. 28. Of several very charming unsigned lyrics I have never been able to trace the authorship, most unfortunately, for they are among the best things in a very good collection.

Another miscellany, dated 1714, yet remains for consideration, and this is :

Poems / And / Translations. / [Rule] / By Several Hands. / [Rule] / To which is Added, / *The Hospital of Fools* ; / A Dialogue ; / By the Late William Walsh, Esq ; / [Rule] / *Dulces ante omnia Musae. Virg.* / [Rule] / London : / Printed for J. Pemberton, at the *Buck and Sun* against St. Dunstan's Church in *Fleet-street*. MDCCXIV. /

The whole enclosed in a double border of rules.

Octavo.

*Signatures* : A eight leaves. a two leaves. B-H in eights. I seven leaves (I8 has been cut out—apparently deliberately by the binder. I surmise that owing to some bad calculation by the printer it was left blank). K-T in eights. a eight leaves. b six leaves.

*Pagination* : p. [i] half-title ' [ornament] / Poems / And / Translations, &c. / [ornament] ', p. [ii] blank. p. [iii] title. p. [iv] blank. pp. [i]-vi Dedication to Lord Pelham signed ' J. Oldmixon '. pp. i-v (new series of roman numerals) Preface. p. [vi] blank. pp. [vii-x] Contents. pp. [xi-xiv] separate title and advertisement, with blank versos, to ' The Salisbury Ballad '. pp. 1-282 text of ' The Salisbury Ballad ' and the subsequent poems in the collection—the cancelled I8 is omitted from the sequence of numbers. p. [1], new series of arabic numbers, half-title to Walsh's *Æsculapius*. p. [2] blank. pp. 3-26 text. pp. [27-8] ' Books lately printed for J. Pemberton '.

Professor Griffith, in his Pope Bibliography, says of Oldmixon's Miscellany that ' G5-8 (pp. 83-92) are apparently an insert ; there are four stubs between sigs. G8 and H1 '. I can see no stubs in my copy, but leaf G5 is signed (whereas in most sections only the first four leaves are signed), which certainly suggests that there may be a cancel, or cancels, here.

One short poem of Pope's first appeared in this book. The most famous piece in it, however, is Nicholas Rowe's melodious and much imitated ' Colin's Complaint ', which also appeared, in the same year, in Rowe's *Poems on Several Occasions*, printed by Currill. Which is the earlier appearance I do not know. Other contributors include Garth, John Hughes, Yalden, and Prior.

The year 1714 has detained us rather a long time, but now we jump forward to 1720, and to Anthony Hammond's New Miscellany which was published in that year, and of which the following is a collation :

A New / Miscellany / Of / Original Poems, / Translations and Imitations. / By the most Eminent Hands, / Viz. / [Names

arranged in two columns with short upright rule between] Mr. Prior, Mr. Pope, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Harcourt, Lady M. W. M.—, Mrs. Manley, &c. / [Rule] / Now first Published from their Respective / Manuscripts. / [Rule] / With some *Familiar Letters* by the late Earl of / Rochester, never before Printed / [Rule. Ornament. Rule] / London, / Printed for T. Jauncy at the *Angel* without / *Temple Bar.* 1720. / Price 5s. /

Octavo in half-sheets.

*Signatures* : Two leaves unsigned. A-Z, Aa-Zz, and Aaa in fours. Bbb two leaves.

*Pagination* : p. [i] blank. p. [ii] portrait of Frederick George Duke of Gloucester, engraved by G. Vertue. p. [iii] title. p. [iv] blank. pp. [v-vi] Preface signed 'A. H.' and dated 'Westminster, May 12, 1720.' pp. [vii-xi] Contents, with Errata at the end. p. [xii] blank. pp. 1-371 text. p. [372] blank. pp. 289, 290, 306, 307, 314, 315, and 344 are misnumbered 287, 288, 206, 207, 214, 215, and 346 respectively.

In one of the two copies in the British Museum S3 seems to be a cancel, but I can find no reason for the cancellation.

The book was reissued in 1740, as 'The Second Edition', with the following cancel title-page :

A New / Miscellany / Of Original / Poems, / Translations and Imitations, / By The / Most Eminent Hands, / Viz. / [names arranged in two columns with two upright rules between] Mr. Prior. Mr. Pope. Mr. Hughes. Mr. Moore. Mr. Amhurst. Mr. Harcourt. Mr. Campbell. Lady Montague. Mrs. Centlivre. Mrs. Manley, &c. / [Rule] / Now first Published from their Respective / Manuscripts. By Anthony Hammond, / Esq; With Several Pieces by Him in / Verse and Prose. / [Rule] / Also some Familiar Letters, by John Earl of / Rochester, never before Printed. / [Rule] / The Second Edition. / [Rule] / London : / Printed for E. Curll, at *Pope's-Head*, in *Rose-Street*, / *Covent-Garden.* MDCCXL. Price 5s. /

This second title-page gives a fairly representative list of the contributors to Hammond's Miscellany. It is probably sufficient, therefore, to add that this book is specially important for two things: one, that it contains the first appearance of Pope's 'Verses to the Lady Mary Wortley Montague'; and the other that two pieces are printed as by 'Mr. Harcourt'—i.e. the Hon. Simon Harcourt (1684–1720)—which are often attributed to Matthew Prior. These are 'The Female Phaeton' and 'The Judgment of Venus'. The balance of evidence seems rather in favour of Harcourt—though the verses are certainly good enough for Prior. Two obscure persons, of some poetical talent, William Bedingfield and 'Clio', otherwise Mrs. Martha Sansom, *née* Fowke, are also contributors to this collection.

Bound up at the end of my copy of the 1740 reissue is a catalogue of the books collected by William Beckett, F.R.S., offered for sale by Currll.

My next book is only a little one, but it is very rare. I have never seen any other copy but my own, though I am told there is one in the Bodleian. The title-page and collation are as follows :

A New / Miscellany : / Being A / Collection / Of Pieces of / Poetry, / From / Bath, Tunbridge, Oxford, Epsom, / and other Places, in the Year 1725. / [Rule] / Written chiefly by Persons of Quality. / [Rule] / To which is added, / *Grongar Hill*, a Poem. / [Rule] / London : / Printed for T. Warner, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. / Price One Shilling. /

Octavo in half-sheets.

*Signatures* : A three leaves. B–M in fours. N one leaf.

*Pagination* : p. [i] title. p. [ii] blank. pp. [iii and iv] Preface. pp. [v and vi] Contents. pp. 1–90 text.

This is, in a sense, a much less important book than any of the others referred to in this paper ; but it has two points of

great interest. In the first place there is printed on p. 70 the well-known copy of verses beginning

*Stella and Flavia*, every hour,  
Do various hearts surprize,  
In *Stella*'s soul lies all her power,  
And *Flavia*'s in her eyes.

It is here headed 'On the D—s of Q— and her Sister'. Later it was attributed both to Mrs. Barber and to Mrs. Pilkington, Swift's friends. Now, though this miscellany is undated, we can, I think, presume it to have been published in 1725, or early in 1726, and this would make the attribution to Mrs. Pilkington an impossible one, for she was only born in 1712, and is hardly likely to have written so neat a poem at thirteen or fourteen. As to Mrs. Barber, it is true that she was born about 1690, but in 1725 she had not yet visited England, and a poem by her could not easily have got into such a collection as this one. Moreover, the heading makes it clear that the *Stella* of the poem was not, as has generally been supposed, Swift's *Stella*. Possibly the real author may have been Jabez Earle (1676-1768), to whom the piece was attributed, first of all, by Dodsley (he afterwards withdrew the attribution); but, having read Earle's other verses, I feel some doubt on the point.

The second point of interest is, of course, the appearance here of a version of Dyer's *Grongar Hill*, one of the loveliest poems of its time. This appearance seems to be before those in either Savage's or Lewis's miscellany, both of which were printed in 1726, and it gives us a third text of the poem, varying widely from each of the others, and in some ways intermediate between them.

We come next, by an obvious step, to Savage's miscellany—a very handsome book, especially when it is printed on large paper—as, in my experience, it usually is. Indeed, I have not

myself seen an ordinary paper copy, though I have heard that they do exist. The title-page of this book is in red and black, and reads thus :

Miscellaneous / Poems / And / Translations. / By several Hands. / [Rule] / Publish'd by Richard Savage, / Son of the late Earl Rivers. / [Rule] / *Multa Poëtarum veniet Manus, auxilio quæ Sit mibi*— Hor. / [Rule. Ornament. Rule] / London : / Printed for Samuel Chapman, at the *Angel* / in Pall-Mall. MDCCXXVI. /

By a typographical freak there is a short rule over the date.

Octavo.

*Signatures* : A, a, and B-U in eights. X four leaves.

*Pagination* : p. [i] title. p. [ii] blank. pp. [iii]–vi Dedication to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, signed 'Richard Savage'. pp. [vii]–xii Preface. pp. [xiii]–xxvii, numbers 28 and 73 of *The Plain Dealer*. pp. [xxviii] and xxix List of Subscribers. pp. [xxx]–xxxii Contents. pp. [1]–312 text. pp. xvii, 160, and 237 are misnumbered xv, 106, and 137 respectively.

The great interest of this book lies in the poems by John Dyer, of which there are several besides the version of *Grongar Hill* referred to on the previous page. But the volume also contains a number of entertaining pieces by Aaron Hill, Matthew Concanen, William Popple, Thomas Cooke, 'Clio' (whom we met in Hammond's miscellany), William Cole-pepper, and 'The Author of the Celebrated Ballad of William and Margaret' (i.e. David Mallet), besides Savage himself. I do not think, however, that any of these need be discussed here, and I will pass on, at once, to David Lewis's two collections, published in 1726 and 1730 respectively.

Miscellaneous / Poems, / By / Several Hands. / [Rule] / Published by D. Lewis. / [Rule] / *Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse Poetas, / Excerpam numero.*— Hor. / [Rule. Ornament. Rule] / London : / Printed by J. Watts. MDCCXXVI. /

Octavo.

*Signatures* : A-X in eights.

*Pagination* : p. [i] title. p. [ii] blank. pp. [iii-vi] Dedication to Lord Charles Noell Somerset, signed 'David Lewis'. pp. [vii-x] Preface. pp. [xi-xv] Contents. p. [xvi] Errata. pp. [1]-320 text.

pp. 177 and 314 are misprinted 167 and 324 respectively.

This is one of the very best of all eighteenth-century miscellanies, if one judges it by the average merit of its contents. All the poems are printed anonymously, and not many of them are, I think, by famous authors. John Dyer is the best known, and he contributed the final version of his *Grongar Hill*—one of the great poems of its century. David Mallet must be accounted a semi-celebrity, I suppose, and his 'William and Margaret' is included—though it had been in print before. Vincent Bourne is a famous man, too, but his contributions are, of course, in Latin. But the bulk of the contributions are, I fancy, by lesser known men. I have identified many poems by Samuel Wesley the younger, and two by another Westminster School poet, Thomas Fitzgerald. The great bulk of the poems, however, yet remain to be identified, and these untraced pieces include many of the best things in the collection. We know, from the Preface, that David Lewis himself contributed to the book, but he never collected his poems, and I think that it is not known which are his. Personally I feel that it is likely that, being a Welshman, he was the author of a (real or alleged) 'Translation from the Ancient British'—the rather amateurish but exquisitely poignant 'Song to Winifreda', which is still known to many readers, and which first appeared in this book. If Lewis wrote that, his claims to poetic distinction are great.

Four years later Lewis published in his second miscellany :

Miscellaneous / Poems, / By / Several Hands. / [Rule] / Published by D. Lewis. / [Rule] / *Sit pudor, et finis.*—

Mart. / [Rule. Ornament. Rule] / London : / Printed by  
J. Watts. MDCCXXX. /

Octavo.

*Signatures* : A-X in eights. Each section except A has 'Vol. II' at the foot of its first page.

*Pagination* : p. [i] title. p. [ii] blank. pp. [iii-vi] Dedication to Lord Shaftesbury, signed 'David Lewis'. pp. [vii-ix] Preface. pp. [x-xv] Contents. p. [xvi] Errata. pp. [1]-320 text.  
p. 25 is misnumbered 29.

Leaf I<sub>7</sub> is a cancel. Professor Griffith points out that this was probably due to Pope's 'Epitaph on . . . Robert Digby' being altered while the book was going through the press. This poem begins as I<sub>6</sub> verso and the last four lines are on I<sub>7</sub> recto. The catchword on the former is 'Region', but the first line on the latter is

Yet take these Tears, Mortality's Relief.

I have not detected any other cancels.

Besides the above-mentioned poem, four other poems by Pope make, according to Professor Griffith, their first appearance in this miscellany. There are again poems by Samuel Wesley the younger, Fitzgerald, Bourne, and (but these are unidentified) by Lewis himself. A poem called 'The Dropsical Man' is by William Taylor, and was printed later in Dodsley's miscellany. It would be, I may add, a highly commendable thing if an annotated list of contributions to these two miscellanies could be deposited—say at the British Museum—or perhaps published somewhere, and any identifications made from time to time added to it. We might by this means arrive at a pretty fair idea of what David Lewis's own contributions were, and we might thus establish the fame, as a lyrical poet, of one whom I suspect to have had a considerable talent in that direction. And if he had not—why then he had excellent critical taste and a highly accomplished circle of friends.

My last book is the collection published in 1729 by James Ralph :

Miscellaneous / Poems, / By / Several Hands : / Particularly / [names in two columns with short upright double rule between] The D— of W—n, Sir Samuel Garth, Dean S—, Mr. John Hughes, Mr. Thomson, Mrs. C—r. / [Rule] / Publish'd By / Mr. Ralph. / [Rule] / London : / Printed by C. Ackers, for W. Meadows at the *An-/ gel* in *Cornhill* ; J. Batley at the *Dove* in *Pater-/ noster-Row* ; T. Cox at the *Lamb* under the *Royal-/ Exchange* ; S. Billingsley at the *Judge's Head* / in *Chancery-Lane* ; R. Hett at the *Bible* and *Crown* / in the *Poultry* near *Cheapside* ; and J. Gray at the / *Cross-Keys* in the *Poultry*. MDCCXXIX. /

Duodecimo.

*Signatures* : A six leaves. B-P in twelves. Q six leaves.

*Pagination* : p. [i] title. p. [ii] blank. pp. [iii-vii] Dedication to Lord Albemarle, signed 'J. Ralph'. pp. [viii-xii] Contents. pp. [1]-348 text.

Practically all the poems in this collection are printed anonymously, and I confess that I have not attempted very seriously to identify most of them. One recognizes, however, reprints of a few things by Pope, Edward Littleton's charming verses 'On a Spider', 'The Morning Apparition', an amusing little piece by Jabez Hughes, our old acquaintance 'Stella and Flavia every hour', a pleasing anonymous piece beginning 'Love's no irregular desire', of which Ritson printed a different version in 1783, and a pretty 'Song'—'Loud was the Wind, and rough the Main'—over which I must eat humble pie. I reprinted this once in an anthology as anonymous, whereas it is really by George Jeffreys, who has already been mentioned as a contributor to Steele's collection.

All the books I have mentioned in this paper were printed in London. I had hoped to include also a Dublin miscellany, that of T. M., published in two volumes duodecimo in 1721,

which is interesting as containing a poem by Parnell which has not been reprinted anywhere so far as I know. 'T. M.' was, I believe, one Thomas Mosse, but I am ashamed to say that I have quite forgotten the authority for that statement, and I have, moreover, no idea who Thomas Mosse may have been. There are other London miscellanies, too, that I might well have included, such as that edited by Matthew Concanen in 1724. But a line had to be drawn somewhere, and I feel that those I have chosen are perhaps the most important of this period.

The object of my paper has been to supply, for librarians—and others, but especially for librarians—a list of some of the most valuable eighteenth-century miscellanies up to 1730, with some rough notes indicative of the nature and importance of their contents. And I would suggest that any first-rate library of English literature ought to possess all the books I have mentioned. One, possibly, is so rare as to be practically unobtainable; but the others may be had, and only one of them ought, to-day, to cost more than five or six pounds. But prices are rising rapidly, and I advise any one who wishes to complete a set of the books referred to in this paper to do so at once.

exercitus martyrum & cōfessorum. choros  
virginum speculando. Cœlum & terra & o-  
nia quæ in eis sunt mihi dicere nō cessant.  
ut deum meum diligam: & i cœm pſeuere:  
sq; in finem uitæ meæ. A M E N.

BEATI AVGVSTINI DE SA  
LVTE SIVE DE ASPIRATI  
ONE ANIME AD DEVVM LI  
BER EXPLICIT FELICITER

. In laudem scriptoris epigramma.

Gloria debetur Girardo maxima lisa.  
Quem genuit campis Flandria picta suis.  
Hic Taruifina nam primus coepit in urbe.  
Artifici raros ære notare libros.  
Quoq; magis faueat excelsi numina regis.  
Aurelii sacrum nūc manuale dedit.

TARVISII  
M:CCCC:LXXI

Fig. 1. Page of De Lissa's first roman, from Augustinus,  
*Manuale*, 1471.

## A FLEMING IN VENETIA: GERARDUS DE LISA, PRINTER, BOOKSELLER, SCHOOLMASTER, AND MUSICIAN

By VICTOR SCHOLDERER<sup>1</sup>



If we can imagine Gerardus de Lisa still concerning himself with sublunary matters four centuries and a quarter after his decease, he must surely regard incunabulists with mixed feelings. Although his editions, with their distinctive type and elegant appearance, have long been recognized as worthy of an attention to which the more commonplace productions of the large printing-houses can lay no claim, an adequate account of his career has never been forthcoming. The learned Dominican Federici, who in 1805 attempted a conspectus of early printing at Treviso,<sup>2</sup> scarcely gets beyond a few scattered notices of Gerardus. Fifty years later he figured as the hero of the second chapter of a discursive compilation by P. C. Van der Meersch, an archivist at Ghent, on early Belgian printers abroad.<sup>3</sup> This sketch rests, it is true, upon the foundation of a bibliography, more complete than that of Federici, which taken by itself is a valuable contribution to the subject; but Van der Meersch's scheme required him also to furnish a biography, and as he had nothing except the meagre information contained in colophons and prefaces to go upon, and was, moreover, very uncritical in his attributions of unsigned books, this part of his work is to a large extent mere

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society on Monday, 18 November, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> D. M. Federici, *Memorie trevigiane sulla tipografia, &c.* (1805).

<sup>3</sup> P. C. Van der Meersch, *Recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs belges . . . à l'étranger* (1856).

romancing, a mass of guesswork and conjecture colourably passed off as fact. Such as it is, however, Van der Meersch's account has been left in possession of the field to this very day, and although bibliographers may possibly be excused for having allowed it a free run for fifty-six years after its first publication, no plea in extenuation is valid after 1912, the year in which appeared the elaborate monograph of Augusto Serena on humanism in Treviso, forming part of the standard series of the *Miscellanea di storia Veneta*.<sup>1</sup> Amid the copious documentary evidence adduced by Serena is a series of no fewer than seventeen excerpts from the record-books of Trevisan notaries dealing with Gerardus, which not only consign the hypotheses of Van der Meersch to sudden death, but actually render Gerardus' career one of the most variously documented in early typography. They have here been combined with one or two further items of information from other sources and a study of the books themselves to form an essay which is really in the nature of a bibliographical *amende honorable* for long misrepresentation or neglect.

The earliest record takes us back no less than ten years behind the date of Gerardus' first typographical efforts, to 1461. On 23 April of that year he figures among several witnesses deposing before a notary as 'Gerardo filio ser Martini de Gandago de Flandria habitator Tarvisii'. These ten words dispose of Van der Meersch's guesses that his home was Harlebeke near Courtrai, that he learnt his craft in Mainz, and that he emigrated to Venice along with Jenson. In fact he was of Ghent, the son of Martin (van der Leye, latinized as de Lisa),<sup>2</sup> and had probably been settled in Treviso for some time prior to 1461, since only a few months later he is found marrying an

<sup>1</sup> A. Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso nel secolo decimoquinto*, vol. iii of series 3 of *Miscellanea di storia Veneta edita per cura della R. Deputazione Veneta di storia patria* (1912). The records relating to Gerardus appear on pp. 350-2.

<sup>2</sup> Ghent lies at the confluence of the Scheldt and the Leye or Lys.

Italian wife. The marriage contract is dated 29 January, 1462, and specifies the parties as 'Gerardus de Lisia de Flandria f. ser Amartini [sic]' and 'honesta domina Tusca filia quondam ser Antonii pictoris de Torcello'—it is a pity that we are not told their ages, but this detail, as usual, is omitted. The dowry amounted to the not inconsiderable sum of 70 gold ducats, paid over by the venerable priest Marco di Giacometto di Casale, canon of Treviso Cathedral. Among the witnesses was Johannes scriptor quondam Cornelii de Alemania.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that there is nothing in the records just quoted specifying any profession followed by Gerardus, but in view of the fact that the dowry of his wife passed through the hands of a church dignitary we may suppose that the ecclesiastical connexion of which plentiful evidence is forthcoming later had at that time already begun. Unless the absence of an honorific prefix such as 'dominus' or 'magister' to his name is to be taken as proof to the contrary, Gerardus may well have been in minor orders, such a position not precluding him from taking a wife. We get something more specific as to his occupation in the third of Serena's records, which is dated more than eight years after the second and brings us to within a twelvemonth of the date when Gerardus first tried his hand at printing. On 5 October, 1470, being again called as a witness, he is described as 'magister Gerardus grammaticae professor in Tarvisio', a phrase implying that he was one of the masters appointed to elementary schools by the Trevisan authorities, who appear to have taken a keen and enlightened interest in primary education. At the head of the educational department stood the municipal 'cancellarius' and Imperial poet laureate, Franciscus Rolandellus, whose repute in schol-

<sup>1</sup> This is not the Johann Schreiber who printed at Bologna in and after 1478; his father is known from other sources to have been called Andreas. Nothing can be said of Antonio of Torcello, who does not correspond to any of the numerous Antonios mentioned in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*.

astic matters was such as to secure him a few years later a highly honourable appointment in Venice itself, a special rescript of the Doge summoning him thither to instruct the children of Leonardo Loredan and other notables in the 'bonae artes'. Rolandellus and Gerardus must of course have been well acquainted, and it is not at all improbable that the enthusiasm of the former for the advancement of learning first determined Gerardus to add typography to schoolmastering; at any rate, it appears that among the earliest batch of his productions is to be numbered an edition of the *Examinationes grammaticales* of Rolandellus himself.<sup>1</sup> It bears the Trevisan imprint, but is undated and unsigned, for which there may have been private reasons, and we may, if we please, imagine that it represents the very first effort of Gerardus in the new art, prior even to the *editio princeps* of the opuscule ascribed in the Middle Ages to Augustine and best known as the *Manuale* which must rank as his earliest full-dress venture. This piece, which is equipped with a verse colophon implying that it was the first book printed at Treviso, is dated 1471 and was followed before the end of that year by three further tracts. All four of them are in octavo, and between them number no more than 150 leaves, so that the character of Gerardus' typographical work, as that of an occasional, almost of a private press, is well marked from the very beginning. The great discrimination shown by Gerardus in his choice of material emphasizes this still more. Employing only a single fount<sup>2</sup>—at this date inevitably a roman—he selected for it a quite original face, which with its

<sup>1</sup> No. 3 of Van der Meersch's bibliography. A copy of it is said to exist in the Biblioteca capitolare at Treviso.

<sup>2</sup> Proctor's 'type 1' and 'type 2' are really the same fount modified in a few details as time went on. It is instructive to read that Van der Meersch considered the great resemblance of this type to that of Jenson as evidence in favour of his theory that Gerardus was trained by Jenson; as we see them, of course, no two roman founts differ more extremely than these.

wealth of curves and serifs, and its greatly prolonged ascenders and descenders, gives to his volumes a flavour of 'fine printing' admirably consonant to their small bulk and format. How far it was of his own designing we do not know, of course; a certain family likeness with the first types of two Germans printing at Venice, Franz Renner and Adam of Ambergau, which came in much about the same time, suggests that all three may be due to one and the same ingenious draughtsman (fig. 1).

With the close of the year 1471 the press of Gerardus slackens its activity and it is fully two years before he again puts in hand anything but an occasional small pamphlet.<sup>1</sup> At last, in February 1474, he completes an edition of the prose romance of Alexander the Great in an anonymous Italian version, running to 100 quarto leaves (Hain 797, Gesamtkatalog 880), and ten months later the *Tesoro*, the medieval encyclopaedia originally composed by Dante's friend Brunetto Latini in French and thence translated into Italian by Bono Giamboni. Each of these two books, by the way, is again the *editio princeps* of its text; no less than six of Gerardus' first ten productions apparently constitute *editiones principes*. The most remarkable thing about the *Tesoro* as here printed is the conclusion imagined for it by Gerardus or his unnamed editor, which takes the form of a sort of addendum to the celebrated colloquy between Dante and Brunetto in the fifteenth canto of the *Inferno*. In a pageful of *terza rima* headed 'Risposta di Dante a Ser Brunetto Latini', the poet conveys to his friend that assurance as to the immortality of his book which in the authentic text the latter could not stay to receive, recounting how, as he walked by the banks of the river Sile

<sup>1</sup> At this point Van der Meersch dispatches him on an excursion to Brescia, in order to print there the edition of Virgil dated 21 April 1473. But this book is assignable to the so-called 'Printer for Pietro Villa' (Proctor 6940), whose type is not the same as that of Gerardus, although akin to it.

where it washes Treviso, fruitful of oil and corn, he met no other than the printer himself—

Gerard the Fleming :  
In wit and art a Zeuxis I'll not call him,  
But more than mighty Thoth, by Heaven,

preparing to renew Brunetto like the phoenix, by multiplying his *Tesoro* a thousandfold.<sup>1</sup> The volume is a folio of 126 leaves in double columns and constitutes one of the largest pieces of printing which Gerardus ever undertook. It and the Alexander romance are executed with a new fount, a large and distinctive gothic, which might be described in the new nomenclature as gotico-antiqua with a dash of round text, and which offers as few analogies with other contemporary types as its predecessor the roman (fig. 2). Following a fashion of the day, its lower case was presently used in combination with the capitals of the roman instead of its own, to the advantage of neither constituent. A number of sorts from it appear in a fount used at Venice by Johann Schreiber for an edition of the prose version of the love-tale of Ippolito and Leonora generally attributed to Alberti, which is also among the first texts printed by Gerardus at Treviso. Schreiber's edition, the colophon of which is the only piece of evidence as to his doings before he settled at Bologna in 1478, bears the date 1472, but it is hard

1

. . . Gerardo Flandrino,  
Di ingegno ed arte Zeusi non vuol dire  
Ma piu che il gran Thoth, per Dio . . .

The divine man Thoth, who taught the arts of life to the Egyptians and who was identified with Hermes or Mercurius Trismegistus, is doubtless a reminiscence from the *Pimander* ascribed to this same Mercurius, the *editio princeps* of which is among the books printed by Gerardus in 1471 (Hain 8456). In deprecating comparison with Zeuxis Gerardus perhaps intends a hit at the Venetian printer Bartholomaeus of Cremona, who brags of having 'outdone the ivory of Phidias' by his skilful type-cutting.

to believe it to be really so early, and the nature of its connexion with the press of Gerardus is at present a baffling problem.<sup>1</sup>

Once more, after the completion of the *Tesoro*, Gerardus' output temporarily shrinks to a series of minor tracts of a more or less popular character. The only items calling for remark among these are a group of three small pamphlets dealing with a *cause célèbre* of the day—the so-called ritual murder of the child Simon at Trent, which stirred all Christendom in the spring of 1475. In Venetia, as elsewhere, popular outrages upon the unfortunate Jews were frequent as a consequence of this villainy, although the central government was unprejudiced enough sternly to discountenance such disorders, and the tracts circulated by Gerardus doubtless contributed their share towards provoking them. Not until the following year—1476—does a larger work leave his press: this is an edition of the most popular of contemporary Latin grammars, the *Rudimenta grammaticae* of Nicolaus Perottus, as 'very diligently emended' by the eminent Rolandellus himself. It consists of 180 quarto leaves and is executed with Gerardus' second fount of roman, somewhat resembling the first, but even more out of the common run, the ascenders and descenders being made still longer and the curves and serifs still bolder (fig. 3). For the occasional scraps of Greek introduced by Perottus into his text Gerardus provided a special set of plain minuscules, without accents or breathings, which, whatever showing they might make in a continuous Greek text, combine so triumphantly well with the roman in which they are embedded as to command the respectful admiration of those who know how refractory under such circumstances a Greek face can be.

The completion of the *Rudimenta*, which probably falls in the early part of 1476, may well have marked a turning-point in

<sup>1</sup> The German Incunabula Commission has kindly furnished the essential information as to Schreiber's book, which apparently survives in only a single copy.

the career of Gerardus, who to all appearances was never again so prosperous as in the time immediately preceding. Not only had he stood alone as a printer in Treviso hitherto, the score or so of editions produced by him to the end of 1475 constituting also the sum total of Trevisan incunabula for these years, but it is highly probable that he was also the principal, if not the only local agent for the supply of standard literature, especially classical, from Venice, the principal centre of its production and only about twenty miles away as the crow flies. Such work was of course beyond the scope of his own press, but a considerable demand for it must have existed at Treviso, which in the fifteenth century was relatively of much greater importance than it is to-day, possessing as it did a flourishing university as well as an active circle of humanists, and Gerardus assuredly found book-selling not a whit less profitable than printing. The business, however, existed only on sufferance and so long as the leading Venetian publishing houses, with their vastly greater resources, did not think it worth while to develop the local connexion—a state of things which first shows signs of changing in the concluding months of 1475. Somewhere about this time there must have been put in hand at Treviso the first book to break the typographical monopoly of Gerardus, viz. the edition of the third part of the *Summa theologiae* of S. Thomas Aquinas, signed in 1476 by Michael Manzolus of Parma, the completion of which is for technical reasons referable to the early months of that year (Reichling 357); it comprises 220 large folio leaves and was followed before the year was out by two scholastic text-books, one of which runs to as many as 250 leaves of the same format. In the next year Manzolus, who is known to have been also a paper-maker, joined forces with the Rhinelaender Hermann Liechtenstein in order to produce an edition of Joannes Torrellius on the orthography of Latin words derived from the Greek in no fewer than 344 folio leaves (Proctor 6469, 6480).

Gerardus might see little cause for alarm in the mere printing of these books at Treviso, since such ponderous tomes could not be held to come into competition with his own special line of work, but their marketing implied a bookselling enterprise on up-to-date lines against which his modest resources stood no chance. In point of fact, we can scarcely doubt that the connexions of Manzolus and Liechtenstein were centred at Venice itself from the very beginning, as they certainly were four years later, when, in October 1481, Liechtenstein appears as the agent of the all-powerful syndicate trading as John of Cologne, Nicolas Jenson & Co. in the ratification of a contract, perhaps for a supply of paper, between his firm and Manzolus.<sup>1</sup> Gerardus took some time to think the situation over, while apparently suspending the activity of his press after the completion of the *Rudimenta*; the only other book which he is known to have issued in 1476 is a small selection of prayers for communicants, translated from S. Basil and S. Chrysostom by Rolandellus, dated on 27 July. We hear of no decisive step on his part until a twelvemonth later,<sup>2</sup> when a document of 17 July 1477 (the fourth of those summarized by Serena) records him as leaving, at his departure from Treviso, a power of attorney 'ad negotia' in his capacity of 'stampator librorum'. His destination appears from the colophon of his next book, an edition of the favourite Italian prose romance of *Guerino il Meschino*, dated on 22 November of the same year from Venice, and with its 186 folio leaves the bulkiest work which ever left his press. As his good friend Rolandellus had removed

<sup>1</sup> Attention was first drawn to this and other documents connected with the book-trade at Treviso in an article by P. Arnaldet in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de la France*, 1897 (part of tom. 58 of the Société's *Mémoires*), p. 355, &c. The purpose of the contract is unfortunately not stated.

<sup>2</sup> Van der Meersch supposed him to have moved to Vicenza in the latter part of 1476, but the Vicenzan edition of Leonicenus' commentary on the *De Oratore* of Cicero dated 'Vndecimo. Kal. Ian.', 1476, in which he thought he recognized Gerardus' type, was really printed by De Reno (Proctor 7145).

Qui vir      q̄s est ille vir idutus lineis portas attras  
ille indu-      metarii circa renes. i. ad corigia: discurres  
tus lieis      p̄ citate. et signas signo Thau oes gemetes  
-      et flletes. Nam vir iste erit verus papa: quez  
Erit vir      p̄ sequec an̄ xps mirtus. q̄ erit idutus line-  
ille      is. i. albedie. duob̄ mois. Uno mero p̄ anti-  
canus      quitate. qz ita antiquus erit verus papa:  
portabit      q̄ nō habet piluz q̄ nō sit albus. et sic carne  
attmēta-      et pilis erit albus. Itē habet castitate. q̄a  
riū      virgo erit. Nā color albus opā castitati.  
ad renes      Ita q̄ p̄ antiquitez et castitate idutus erit  
lineis. i. albedie. et iste portabit attmētarii  
quod significat potestate ecclesiastica: quā  
portabit iste papa. et nō alius ipo viuēte  
ad renes. i. ad cōsciēcias. qz idubitater sciet  
se esse verū papā. Et vt intelligatis quō scri-  
uaria vel scriptoriuz demonstrat potatem  
ecclesiastica: est sciēdū. q̄ i calamario q̄tu-  
or h̄nc. s. forfices. cultellus. punzonps. et  
calami. in encaustorio duo. tinctorium et  
tincta. Et sic sunt sex que ducunt anigas  
Quid for-      ad sex ordines sanctoz paradisi. Nā p̄mo  
fices i et      in scriuaria ē locus forficū. vbi sunt forfi-  
tramēta      ces ad scidenduz et dividendū papirum et  
riosigni      alia que sunt vnta. Ista demonstrant pos-  
fiant      tate ecclesiasticalē maiorez. prio absoluedi

Fig. 2. Page of De Lisa's first gothic, from Vincentius Ferrer,  
*De fine mundi*, 1475.

Hic aperit plagar: & uulnera curae amantum  
Putria phillyride fortius aemonis:  
Tercius astriferi limen tibi monstrat olympi: .  
Quo phaethontis est uia trita rotis.  
Qua nunc sancte anime: post reddita corpora uinas:  
Ibunt æthrae lucida in astra poli.  
Quo si te ire iuuat: mudanas desere curas:  
Desere & aligeri sordida castra ducis  
Quid iuuat affectu lasciuo ducere uitam?  
Et tantu ingratis uiuere diuiciis?  
Quam melius seruite deo: spes una salutis.  
Hæc homini: multum cætera fraudis habent  
Sol' redit: & semper reparat dispensia phebe  
Annus adest iterum: nos semel occidimus.  
Vis iterum quondam uitales surgere in auras  
Morte obita: & longum uiuere: uiue modo.

ACCVRATISSIME IMPRESSVM  
;TARVISII PER GERARDVM  
DE FLANDRIA . ANNO SALV-  
TIS M. CCCC. XCII. DIE XIII. OC  
TOBRIS. SVB MAGNIFICO  
PRAETORE AVGVSTINO  
FOSCARINI.  
:: FINIS ::

Fig. 3. Page of De Lisa's second roman, from *Haedus, Anterotica, 1492.*

thither in the previous year to take up the high-class tutorial appointment already referred to, no doubt a lucrative job, we may suppose that it was he who persuaded Gerardus to come and try his luck in the capital. However, the latter soon found that so far from improving his position he had put his head into the lion's mouth. Apart from the Guerino, only an edition of the *Tractatus procuratoris sub nomine diaboli editus*, dated 17 February 1478—a mere dozen of quarto leaves—can with any certainty be referred to his Venetian press,<sup>1</sup> and later on in the same year he had returned with his material to Treviso. But here, it would seem, his case was now worse than before. After incursions by Turkish soldiery in the concluding months of 1477 and an epidemic of plague only just passed over, conditions remained generally unsettled, while the entry of the plague into Venice itself, where its ravages were terrible, were producing unforeseen reactions in the provinces. Trade and industry, flying from the city, sought healthier quarters in the neighbouring towns, and it was apparently as one of the results of this migration that Treviso became temporarily an active centre of book-production. The annual statistics of the number of editions printed there take a sudden leap from seven in 1479 to nineteen in 1480—by far the largest number in any single year of the period—and the firms responsible for them were doubtless all of them, like the establishment of Manzolus, under Venetian influence. Gerardus, at any rate, took no part in these proceedings, preferring instead to make another move. From Serena's fifth document, dated on 26 July 1479, we learn that he was 'ad praesens bibliopola in Utino', settled as a bookseller at Udine in Friuli, the easternmost corner of the

<sup>1</sup> At some time in 1478 there was printed at Venice an edition of Varro, *De lingua latina*, with the text emended by Rolandellus, working after Pomponius Laetus (Hain \*15854, IB. 24848). It is, however, very unlikely that Gerardus had anything to do with this or any other book of the group to which it belongs, that of the unnamed 'Printer of Pomponius Mela'.

Venetian homelands, and that he had left as his representative in Treviso a priest named Liberale di Cesana.

Gerardus was away from Treviso for at least six years. It is probable that during the whole of this time his headquarters were at Udine, where the Venetians did not think it worth their while to interfere, but he had temporarily moved yet a little farther eastwards, to Cividale, during 1480. In September of that year he is described as 'impressor librorum' in a demand made from Cividale upon Giacomo, bookseller and precentor of the Cathedral at Udine, for two ducats, the price of a parcel of books,<sup>1</sup> and in the following month the edition of Platina's cookery book entitled *De honesta voluptate*, which contains the earliest imprint of Cividale and at the same time of Friuli, describes itself as printed 'impensis et expensis Gerardi de Flandria'. The type found in it is the small and (for him) somewhat commonplace gothic which Gerardus had latterly employed at Venice and Treviso, and it occurs again in a second small popular tract, bearing no printer's name, which was completed at Cividale exactly a month after the Platina.<sup>2</sup> In view of the emphatic, if tautological, 'impensis et expensis', it is questionable whether Gerardus took a hand in the actual presswork of these books, but we cannot tell what craftsman, if any, he employed. Probably he returned soon after to Udine, where we presently hear of him both as a bookseller and as a collector of moneys due to the Cathedral Chapter, a post for which his ecclesiastical connexion evidently recommended him.<sup>1</sup> Here also he printed a few more books on his own account, viz. an official edition of the Statutes of the Province of Friuli, translated into Italian by Pietro Cavretto, of Pordenone

<sup>1</sup> V. Joppi, *L'arte della stampa in Friuli, &c.*, in *Atti dell' Accademia di Udine*, ii<sup>a</sup> serie, volume iii<sup>o</sup> (1880), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Barbatia, *Rep. c. Testimonium de testibus*, printed with a variant of this type, undated and signed only with an escutcheon flanked by the letters A K (Gesamt-katalog 3383, Pellechet 1836), has surely nothing to do with Gerardus himself.

(see below), in July 1484, a new edition of the grammar of Perottus in September 1485, and a short compendium, undated, of the *Decretum* of Gratian, all with the same small gothic as at Cividale. His father had died at some time prior to August 1483. Treviso meanwhile, after having endured another severe visitation of plague, had entirely lost its temporary typographical importance, the last of Gerardus' rivals having given up in 1485, so that he could count on returning to something resembling the old conditions. The date of his homecoming cannot be fixed within a lesser period than the three years preceding 6 November 1488, the day on which he reappears in his former surroundings as witness to a contract and is described as 'ciuis et habitator Taruisii' (Serena's seventh document). Thenceforward, taking the successive records and colophons in combination, his presence in Treviso is vouched for until 1496, while, in addition to his previous titles of 'magister scholarum' and 'professor grammaticae', that of 'cantor in ecclesia cathedrali' is bestowed upon him more than once, and in a connexion which suggests that he was by now a person of a certain consequence.

Gerardus did not altogether give up typography during his later Trevisan sojourn, but his editions now bear even more clearly the character of private printing than before. So far as we know, they number fewer than ten altogether—the only printing done in the town during the last fifteen years of the century; three are dated in 1492—just seven years after his last work at Udine—and one in February 1494, while two of the rest appear to be later. All are printed throughout with his second roman fount, which had been laid aside for fifteen years, and the most important of them are texts written by three men, each of some distinction in his own way, with whom he must have been personally acquainted. The earliest of the series, a brief tract on the upbringing of children, entitled *De liberorum educatione* and completed 11 September 1492, has for its

author Jacopo, Count of Porcia, or, as he called himself, Jacobus, comes Purliliarum,<sup>1</sup> a castle not far from Pordenone, about midway between Udine and Treviso. From the collection of his *Epistolae Familiares*, printed anonymously at Venice, probably after his death in 1538,<sup>2</sup> we get a view, through a wealth of Ciceronian trappings, of his life—the pleasant picture of the career of a country gentleman, trained to the use of arms and fond of hunting, yet at the same time with plenty of intellectual interests, a humanist of more than local repute, and keeping up a correspondence with men of letters and of affairs. The best known of his own compositions, dedicated to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, in 1525, and acknowledged by him in very flattering terms, is a treatise on soldiering, *De re militari*; this was several times printed, both separately and as an appendix to an account of the Roman military organization extracted from Polybius, and enjoyed the further distinction of being translated into four languages, including English.<sup>3</sup> Another of his tracts, a summary sketch of the political system of Venice, with the title *De reipublicae Venetae administratione*, was also printed by Gerardus, but without a date, and the fact that for typological reasons this is apparently to be considered as one of the printer's two latest productions confronts us with a bibliographical problem. In the collection of the Count's epistles there is one<sup>4</sup> in which he begs his

<sup>1</sup> The correct Latin equivalent of Porcia is Porciliae, but this form smacked too much of the farmyard to be acceptable to the owner, who adopted the wholly apocryphal 'Purliliae' in its stead.

<sup>2</sup> The volume is *sine ulla nota*, contains not a single explicit date, and is executed in so archaic a manner as to have deceived Hain himself into describing it as an incunabulum (no. \*13605). Internal evidence clearly proves it to be much later than 1500. The material used in it is also found in the *Silve* of the Trevisan poet, Marcello Philoxena, printed by Niccold Brenta in 1507.

<sup>3</sup> *The preceptes of warre set forth by James the erle of Purlilia and traslated into englysh by Peter Betham.* 1544. E. Whytchurche for Wm. Telotson. 8vo. S.T.C. 20116. Copies at Oxford and Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> On fol. xi<sup>a</sup> of the printed collection.

correspondent to interview 'Gerard the choirmaster', that is, our Gerardus, and to press him 'ut finem tandem [faciat] opusculo nostro: quod mihi auguror non minus mendosum fore: quam quod nos quinto iam mense misit'. The noble writer is so exclusively preoccupied with being Ciceronian and Plinian that he neglects to specify the title of the tract, or indeed to date the letter, and, taken as it stands, his remark immediately raises a difficulty, since the two editions of Gerardus which have just been described, and which are his only two printings of work by the Count of Porcia known to the standard bibliographies, are separated by an interval of five years rather than five months, unless all the internal indications deceive. We are, however, told by the usually reliable Federici that he saw in a private library at Venice a copy of a second edition of the *De liberorum educatione* signed and dated by Gerardus in 1498,<sup>1</sup> and in view of the great rarity of most early printed tracts of this class the information may well be correct, although no one appears to have set eyes on the little book since his day. Assuming this second edition to be one of the two opuscules mentioned by the Count, we should have some justification for taking the completion of the *De reipublicae Venetae administratione* to fall within, say, six months of it, in or a little before or after the year 1498—a date amply late enough to satisfy all requirements. Whether this be so or not, it may be remarked that the Count, despite his momentary irritation, had in fact a high opinion of Gerardus, for he goes on to say that to get his tract printed 'et cito et bene' should not be impossible 'in magna industria & singulari prudentia uiri'. Only a month after the first edition of the *De liberorum educatione*—on 13 October 1492—Gerardus completed the printing of a book by a common friend of his own and the Count's, the *Anterotica* (or *De amoris generibus*) of Petrus Haedus, which is the Latin style of Piero Cavretto, the priest

<sup>1</sup> *Memorie trivigiane, &c.*, p. 67.

of Pordenone who has already been mentioned as the translator of the Constitutions of Friuli executed by Gerardus at Udine in 1484. In the prefatory epistle to the latter he addresses Gerardus as 'dilectissimo amigo', while the correspondence of the Count, who was his near neighbour, contains half a dozen letters directed to him on various occasions. The *Anterotica* was probably printed for private distribution on a liberal scale, as it is by far the commonest of Gerardus' books. It is somewhat surprising to find the appeal of Cavretto's ascetic commonplaces and unremitting fluency still powerful more than a century later, a reprint having been made of it at Cologne in 1608;<sup>1</sup> another of his tracts, conceived in a similar spirit, the *De miseria humana*, also outlived its author, having been selected in 1558 by the newly founded Venetian Academy as one of the first numbers in its charmingly printed series of publications in quarto. Besides the *Anterotica*, it was pretty clearly the intention of Cavretto to give Gerardus the printing of a translation of the Office of the Virgin into Italian verse which he completed in December 1486, for the manuscript text of this<sup>2</sup> concludes with a sonnet beginning :

Peter Capretto, priest, of Pordenon  
Sends greeting fair and lets his Gerard know :  
Pray marvel not for that I am so slow  
To satisfy all thine intention . . .

but if such an edition ever existed, it has altogether perished. One of the Count's letters<sup>3</sup> expresses his vehement desire to see a copy of this 'officium Virginis ex Latino in rhythmos

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue général . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale, s.v. Cavretto.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Bartolini, *Saggio . . . sopra la tipografia del Friuli, &c.* (1798), p. 53.

Pietro Capretto da Portonaone  
Manda salute e dice al suo Gerardo :  
Non te maravigliar si io son tardo  
A satisfar a tua intentione . . .

<sup>3</sup> On fol. lxxvii<sup>b</sup> of the printed collection.

versum' and his indifference 'quo litterarum charactere transcriptum sit' so long as it is legible, a phrase which suggests pen-and-ink rather than type; this, however, is no decisive evidence against a subsequent printing. In another letter<sup>1</sup> the Count speaks of his offer 'to hand over to the printers' Capretto's tract *De christiani hominis senectute*, but in this case no connexion with Gerardus is even suggested. About the same time, apparently, as the later of the Count of Porcia's tracts, Gerardus printed the *editio princeps* of a little work which must have made a strong appeal to him both as a Fleming and as a musician. This is a vocabulary of musical terms, entitled *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, by Johannes Tinctoris, of Poperinghe near Ypres, who was 'capellanus maior' or chief choirmaster to King Ferdinand of Naples about 1475, the presumed date of the composition of the tract. The king commissioned him in 1487 to travel in France and the Low Countries for the purpose of engaging choristers for the royal service, and it is highly probable that he made, or possibly renewed, acquaintance with Gerardus during his journey home. The object of his mission was never realized and he ultimately settled at Nivelles, where he died as something of a celebrity in 1511; some of his numerous compositions and works on the theory of music have been reprinted in modern times.

The last undoubted mention of Gerardus at Treviso dates from 16 November 1496, and shows him in that unhappy state of temporary insolvency which, as we know or surmise, a large proportion of the early printers came to occupy sooner or later. The claim now recorded against him is on behalf of the heirs of one Joannes Sigismundi, doctor of the arts and of medicine, and Gerardus, who is described simply as 'musicus', engages himself to pay up fifteen gold ducats of full weight within 'the next two years; should he meanwhile sell all or part of a certain 'cassa di libri', it is directed that the pro-

<sup>1</sup> On fol. lxxi<sup>b</sup> of the printed collection.

ceeds shall go to his creditors on account (Serena's seventeenth and last document). Difficulties such as this doubtless account for the fact that in the following year he betook himself once more to Udine, where he is sometimes spoken of as 'libraio' and sometimes as 'cantore'. If his edition, dated in 1498, of the Count of Porcia's tract which has been spoken of above really exists, he must, of course, be allowed to have revisited Treviso yet again subsequently, but most of the short remainder of his days was presumably spent at Udine, since another and final reference to him, bearing date 13 January 1500, records as then living there Caterina Bianchi, known as Ceccon Udinese, widow of Gerard of Flanders, cantor.<sup>1</sup> This lady, it will be observed, was the second wife of Gerardus, or at any rate not his first, but we do not know when Tusca of Torcello, whom he married in 1462, died, nor when he contracted with Ceccon, nor, for that matter, the exact date of his own demise. A late and distant echo of his name comes to us from the year 1534, when a son, Bernardino, is made mention of as a priest and, following in his father's footsteps, as choirmaster of the Duomo at Udine.<sup>1</sup>

In the rough outline of his career which the evidence has enabled us to trace through nearly forty years, we have seen Gerardus busy by turns as schoolmaster, printer, bookseller, choirmaster, and debt-collector, and doubtless pursuing several or all of these occupations simultaneously whenever he saw the opportunity of turning an honest penny. This well-diversified record not only provides a happy change from the bloodless succession of colophons which is all that we have to go upon in the case of most early printers, but it is also for this very reason particularly instructive. One of the chief difficulties met with in the history of prototypography is adequately to account for the time of the men who produced the books, an end towards which the colophons, separated as they are by the

<sup>1</sup> V. Joppi, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

most disconcerting gaps and blanks, usually carry us but half-way. In the case of Gerardus, however, we manage to arrive at a tolerably clear notion of what, besides printing, a printer of the better class, who was something more than a mere mechanic, might on occasion turn his hand to, and we perceive incidentally that for many such the craft which has perpetuated their memory must have been but a subordinate concern, just as their humbler fellows are sometimes recorded as having been also tradesmen, innkeepers, or what not: the fact that the only available evidence about them derives from their book-work has disturbed our perspective. If any part of Gerardus de Lisa can be said to live after him, it is his printing; but there is small doubt that in his own day he was considered first of all as a churchman and in the next degree as a musician, and that he would have preferred to be known to posterity in either of these capacities, had he been able so far to control his fate.

ANALYSIS OF REVISAN EDITIONS BEFORE 1501

Subject	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479	1480	1481	1482	1483	1484	1485	1492	1494	1494	1494	Total
Texts	2	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	4	2	3	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	22
Grammars, &c.	1	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	3	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	11
Divinity	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	10	
■ Philosophy, &c.	1	..	..	..	..	3	6	..	2	..	..	1	..	1(f)	..	1	4	..	3(f)	22
Books in Italian :																				16
Divinity	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.	4	8	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Romances in prose	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Verse	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>93</b>	

## THEODORE GOTTLIEB: A REFORMER OF THE HISTORY OF BOOKBINDING

By E. P. GOLDSCHMIDT



ON 15 January 1929 there died in Vienna Dr. Theodore Gottlieb, and with him there disappeared one of those 'bookmen' whose achievements have a claim to lasting recognition, and moreover a singular personality such as we may hardly hope to find in any other career; for truly it is among those whose life is spent among old books that we meet again and again such astonishing 'characters', whose peculiar gifts, ideas, ways of thought and of behaviour, stamp them as beings apart among human kind.

Dr. Gottlieb spent his life as a member of the staff of the old Imperial Library of Vienna, and he retired soon after the upheaval of 1918-19 had renamed that institution the 'National Library of Austria'. His learning was immense and accurate, but indeed 'varied and peculiar', for his interests were mainly concentrated on curious side-lines of bibliographical and palaeographical history. A glance at the reference-books he used to keep handy on his desk was sufficient to show that this was no ordinary scholar working on humdrum lines; for there one saw a row of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century folios, Ciacconius and Mabillon, the correspondence of Fabri de Peiresc and of Busbequius; such tomes as these were his favourite working tools.

He published little, and most of the strange knowledge he had accumulated has disappeared with him. His publications are mainly confined to his two favourite subjects: the history of libraries and of bookbindings. In the former field he was a forerunner of Paul Lehmann and his school; his first book,

*Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, was published in 1890. It is an immense collection of references to medieval library catalogues hidden away in manuscripts and little-read old books on monastic history, the result of most extensive reading and the basis of the enterprise which Lehmann and his pupils have undertaken : viz. to publish these ancient booklists *in extenso*. In this series of Medieval Library Catalogues issued under the patronage of the Bavarian Academy, Gottlieb brought out one volume dealing with the medieval catalogues of Austrian monasteries.<sup>1</sup>

A special study of the beginnings of the Vienna Imperial Library, or rather of its origin as the private library of the Habsburgs, was his *Büchersammlung Kaiser Maximilians I* (Leipzig, 1900). It is a very exact and most laborious investigation of a most fascinating subject. For what could be more curious than the books that went to form the romantic mind of the 'Last Knight', the imperial author of the *Theuer-danck*, whose historical learning enabled him to trace his own descent both to Noah and to King Arthur ? What more difficult than to trace the fate of the books that passed through the hands of this wayward and nomadic sovereign ? Dr. Gottlieb's book embodies an enormous amount of labour and research ; it is most reliable and accurate. It consists mainly of discussions on pressmarks and extracts from inventories, documents, and letters, and it is perfectly unreadable.

In the year 1904 an Exhibition of Ancient Bookbindings was held at the Imperial Library ; the selection was made by Dr. Gottlieb and the little catalogue for the visitors was prepared by him. It was this task that made him realize that, strictly speaking, nothing at all was known with any certainty on the history of bookbinding. The existing publications on old bindings, such as those by Bouchot, Fletcher, Holmes,

<sup>1</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheks-Kataloge Österreichs. I. Band. Niederösterreich. Wien. 1915.*

Brassington, Gruel, &c., he found to be full of vague assertions and strangely devoid of references to demonstrable facts. He undertook to prepare a worthy record of that memorable exhibition of bookbindings, and after six years' work he brought out his *Buchleinbände. Auswahl von technisch und geschichtlich bemerkenswerten Stücken (aus der K. K. Hofbibliothek)*, Vienna, 1910. With 100 plates and 44 pages of introductory text.

It is on this work on the *Bookbindings at Vienna* that Gottlieb's permanent reputation will probably be founded. For in those 44 pages of text he contrived to set down pretty nearly everything that was positively known about old bindings, and ninety per cent. of this he had found out for himself. The facts he set out were nearly all directly contrary to the accepted tradition, as embodied in the similar books of his predecessors; and what research has done since 1910 has, on the whole, tended to confirm Gottlieb's opinion, wherever he differs from other authors. In spite, however, of the comparative brevity of this introduction, his style and his method of presenting his case have combined to hide not only the value of this piece of work, but have left his contentions obscure to any but the most zealous workers in this field. As a result, the majority of later publications on bookbindings ignored the doctrine, or at least the claims to priority, of Gottlieb, and thus added considerably to the many grievances he was nursing against all the world.

It may therefore not be unacceptable if I endeavour to set out, as briefly and as clearly as I can, what are the principal problems Gottlieb faced, what were the current opinions on them before his book appeared, and which solutions he has offered for them.

To anybody viewing a selection of old bookbindings from the earliest down to modern times, such as, for instance, that exhibited in the four showcases in the King's Library at the British Museum, the following question will immediately

occur : Since the more ancient bindings are entirely decorated in *blind*-tooling and the later are almost invariably *gold*-tooled in various styles and fashions up to the present day, when and where did the practice of *gold*-tooling on bindings originate ?

The accepted opinion before 1910 seems to go back, as far as I can trace it, to the assertions of that fanciful gentleman Guglielmo Libri, in his introduction to the sale catalogue of the 'Choicer Portion' of his collections in 1859. The hypothesis as we find it, rather hesitatingly, set out in H. P. Horne's *Binding of Books* and in Miss Prideaux' various publications on bookbindings, and as it appears to have been implicitly accepted by other authors and cataloguers, is more or less this: 'Gold tooling originated in the "Orient", among the Saracens (wherever that may be). It was introduced into Europe by Oriental workmen, first of all in Venice, and became popular through its adoption by the famous printer Aldus Manutius, who began his career in 1494. Aldus presented his friend Grolier with specially bound copies of his publications as they came out, so that the bindings on Grolier's Aldines show us the development of Venetian bookbinding attained in the year of their impression. Grolier brought his books with him to France and they served as models to the French bookbinders who developed their style into the type of binding executed for Henri II and his contemporaries.'

Every one of these assertions is demonstrably false, and it is Gottlieb, in his Introduction and descriptive notes, who was the first to examine them critically and to prove them contrary to the facts. Gottlieb's positive doctrines contrasting with the old theory are :

No oriental bindings show any 'gold-tooling' executed in the technique which has been practised in Europe since the fifteenth century, viz. gilding with the hot iron and gold leaf. The gilding on oriental bindings is invariably done with gold paint and a brush. There can therefore be no question that

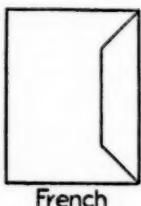
Europeans did *not* learn this technique from any oriental binders we know of.

The earliest European gold-tooled bindings are much earlier than 1494, the date of Aldus Manutius' inception. The bindings executed for King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary between 1470 and 1490 (of which the Vienna Library possesses some of the finest specimens) show not only elaborate gold-tooling, but every conceivable refinement of technique, such as enamel colouring, inlay-work, &c., &c. By deductive reasoning and the aid of documentary evidence Gottlieb proves conclusively that the models for the Corvinus bindings were Neapolitan, and that such elaborate gold-tooled bindings were made for the Aragonese Kings of Naples at an earlier date than 1480. He hints, and I feel certain future research will confirm the hypothesis, that the art of gold-tooling was brought to Naples from Spain, mainly by Catalan workmen. Thus possibly we may be led back to an 'oriental' origin of this technique among the Moors of Spain.

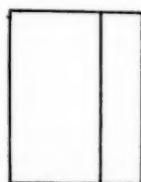
Grolier's bindings bearing his name and motto, whether on Aldines or on other books, are all of French, not of Italian, workmanship. They are not contemporary with the books inside, but can be proved from the watermarks in the paper used by the binder to be later than 1535. Thus the development of French bookbinding is independent of Italian models, except of course in so far as any form of art was under Italian influence in the Renaissance period. Contrariwise, French models were indubitably copied by Italian bookbinders.

The distinction of Italian and of French work in the sixteenth century is often difficult. As an aid to distinguish them, Gottlieb's remarkable eye for unobtrusive but significant detail has discovered a technical peculiarity in the divergent fashions of cutting the strip of parchment on which the backs are often sewn. This piece of parchment, extending all down the back, had loose flaps protruding a little way over the sides; these

flaps were finally pasted down on the inside of the covers and covered up with the paper lining of the boards. The shape of this protruding flap is usually easily discernible under the paper lining, and repeated tests have shown that this flap is usually cut to trapeze-shape in a French binding, while it is generally left straight or irregular by the Italians.



French



Italian

Moreover, Gottlieb was the first to assert the fairly obvious fact, strenuously denied by earlier writers for no clear reason, that Grolier and 'Maioli' patronized the same bookbinders. This has not only been conclusively demonstrated by G. D. Hobson in his *Maioli, Canevari and others*, in 1926, but has been carried a good deal farther by his discovery that 'Maioli' was called Mahieu and resided in Paris at the same time and in the same milieu as Grolier himself.

Similarly, Gottlieb stated first that the 'Canevari' bindings are of Roman and not of Venetian origin, and again Hobson has complemented this assertion by discovering their true owner in Pierluigi Farnese.

Having thus in his principal work in the main stripped Venice of a fictitious pre-eminence foisted upon it by the earlier authors on bookbinding, Gottlieb very naturally set himself to investigate the indubitable products of the Venetian binders. This very brilliant essay of his is very little known; it appeared in a Viennese periodical, *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, vol. xvi (1913), pp. 153-76, under the title 'Venezianer Einbände des

XV. Jahrhunderts nach persischen Mustern'. Here we find not only undoubtedly Venetian bindings, but we can clearly see the frequently cited 'Saracen' binders at work in Venice making use of clearly oriental models and of oriental technique, viz. gilding with the brush.

Gottlieb's last published work appeared after his death in the *Jahrbuch für Einbandkunst* of 1929 and is entitled 'Grolier-Studien'. It is mainly a critique or an elaboration of certain assertions of G. D. Hobson; it brings to light for the first time some very interesting fresh facts and examples and, in Gottlieb's characteristic somewhat involved and obscure way, formulates the main problems attaching to Grolier's famous bindings, their chronological succession, their artists, and their influence on later work.

These three publications, together with a few minor articles and venomous critiques of other people's work, exhaust what Gottlieb has given to the world on the subject of old book-bindings. It does not, however, by a long way exhaust the mass of precise and valuable knowledge on the subject which this strangely suspicious and secretive man carefully kept to himself. This, I fear, has been buried with him, and he was careful not even to leave any notes behind him that might be of use to his successors. From his executor I learn that all that has been found are bundles of untidy little scraps of paper, tramway-tickets and library-slips, on which he scribbled, in his own secret stenography, certain undecipherable notes on a multitude of subjects. When questioned on any particular matter, he would invariably hint that he knew a good deal more about it than anybody else suspected, but always managed to evade a straightforward reply. Instead of answering, he would start off, with an endless flow of words, to discourse on entirely different matters, showing an amazing knowledge of hidden and obscure facts, which he felt sure were of no immediate interest to his inquirer. Thus he would expatiate to me at

interminable length on the early history of the Vienna Library and its first librarians, Tengnagel and Blotius. He had worked through enormous masses of material in the rich archives of that institution and was 'writing' a monumental work on the Vienna Imperial Library in the sixteenth century. The world at large and the library staff in particular were looking forward to this book for many years, but now the director of the library, Hofrat Bick, informs me that not a scrap of manuscript has so far been discovered.

Gottlieb's most remarkable gift was perhaps his extraordinarily keen and observant eye and his amazing visual memory for detail. A rash identification of one binder's tool with another would cause him to go off into peals of laughter, for he would say it was 'obvious to any one with two eyes in his head' that the tool of the binding in Venice had two tendrils to the curved leaf-stem while that in Berlin had four; such microscopic details he would retain in his head and produce from memory, and a critical investigation has, in my experience at least, always proved him correct. He was a remarkable palaeographer and a champion among decipherers of hopelessly illegible and effaced scribbling. He was reputed to be the only scholar capable of reading the *Codex epistolaris* of Conrad Celtes, which he kept locked away for future publication for over thirty years. He showed it to me once and the mere idea of attempting to read these completely faded and badly dilapidated scrawls, the brouillons of Celtes' private letters, made me shudder. He was very proud of his achievements as a connoisseur of calligraphy and cacography, and he was the sworn expert on handwriting to the Viennese law-courts. In this capacity he was instrumental in solving one of the strangest criminal poisoning mysteries that ever occurred, the Hofrichter case. From an unusual capital A he deduced the guilt of a well-known and elegant captain on the general staff, forced him to confess, and brought him to the gallows.

## SOURCES OF EARLY ENGLISH PAPER-SUPPLY

By EDWARD HEWOOD



CCASIONS may arise when bibliographical or other literary problems might be solved, if not with certainty, at least with high probability, by knowing the source of supply of the paper used for the books or documents in question. Without entering into details, a few instances of such occasions may be given. A book may be rather doubtfully assigned to a particular English press, the alternative being (say) a press in the north of France. The paper used is one often found in English books, and this might seem to strengthen the case for the English press, on the supposition that such paper was of English make. But if it can be shown that the paper was probably made in France for the English market the argument loses much of its force. Sometimes it may be more important to know whether a given paper was commonly used in this country than to know its place of origin, e.g. if a document supposed to be written or printed in England proves to be on Italian paper, this need not argue against the supposition if we know that such Italian paper was in common use in England at the time. Conversely, the belief that an English document was written during its author's residence abroad is certainly strengthened if we know, not only that the paper is foreign, but that it is of a kind rarely met with in this country. To take another case, if we find a book, in which a single leaf (especially if a plate or title-page) is on totally different paper from the rest of the volume, it is natural to suspect a fake, unless the history of the copy in question is known for a good many years. And the suspicion will gain force if we discover that the paper was made in a part of Ger-

many (say) from which we are most unlikely to have drawn our supplies. Lastly, to the student of old bindings a knowledge of such matters is obviously of great importance, contemporary end-papers being a valuable aid towards attributing the binding to a particular country, region, or period, as has been shown more than once in recent works of Mr. G. D. Hobson.

The information given in many of the foreign works on paper-marks, particularly Briquet's, may be sufficient to solve such questions if an English origin is not a possibility, but as most of these pay no attention to English books or documents, they give no help in questions relating to such. It is therefore to papers used in this country that attention is confined in the following notes. Unfortunately, the place of origin of early foreign papers cannot always be definitely established, even with the aid of Briquet, Le Clerc, and others, whilst such aid is, to a great extent, lacking for dates after 1600; and so scanty is the information on early English paper-making that the attribution of a seventeenth-century paper to an English or foreign source must involve a good deal of guess-work. Further research on the subject is thus greatly to be desired.

#### *Papers used in Great Britain before 1500*

Having studied old paper principally in the library of the Royal Geographical Society, which possesses few incunabula and those mostly foreign, I cannot claim to speak on the earliest period from first-hand knowledge, except to a very limited extent. But a good deal of scattered information already exists, which if brought together and analysed may supply some useful indications. The most valuable data are perhaps the figures of paper-marks occurring in the Paston letters, given by Sir John Fenn in the first printed edition of the letters. Written on from various places through an extended period, the papers may be regarded as fairly representative of those in general use in this country in early days. Next may be placed the copies of

marks, especially those from books printed by Caxton, given by Sotheby in his *Principia Typografica*, and in the monumental series of manuscript volumes brought together by him and his father, and now in the British Museum, though the latter are concerned mainly with the marks in foreign documents. Even when he gives copies of marks found by him in the Tower, Sotheby is unfortunately not explicit as to the place from which the letters or other documents were written, though when the recipients are English it is probable that the documents also originated in England in the majority of cases. Many of Sotheby's conclusions were vitiated by his theories on the origins of printing, which coloured his views on other issues too. He is too ready to suppose that the common use of certain papers in this or other countries implies that they were made in the respective countries, and he puts down the Netherlands as the chief source of our early supply (as well as of the French) although there is no evidence at all of the existence of paper-mills there in the period in question. But his actual data can still be used with advantage.

A third source is the communication by Hunter printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvii, 1857, pp. 447 sqq., which is accompanied by drawings of early marks found on English documents written either in England or in the parts of France then under English sway. Hunter made some judicious remarks on the possible origins of the papers and suggested that further study might elucidate the course of the paper-trade in those days. But his hints have never been followed up very seriously in this country. He noted the similarity of the paper used in England and at Bordeaux, but left it uncertain whether this was due to a common source of supply or to our use of French paper. The former alternative is now known to be in most cases the true explanation.

Another fairly extensive collection of early marks is that made by Mr. R. Lemon, of the Record Office, and reproduced

in Scott and Davey's *Guide to the Collector of Historical Documents* (1891). But for our present purpose its value is reduced by the failure to state explicitly where the documents drawn upon were written. A more important source, which would no doubt repay detailed analysis, is the fine collection of watermark tracings made by Mr. M. Beazley from MSS. in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, and now in the British Museum. The greater number, however, are of dates after 1500, and the earlier marks are on the whole similar to those otherwise recorded.

These sources are to some extent checked and supplemented by my own data, or those kindly sent me by correspondents. At Durham I was recently allowed to inspect some of the oldest letters written on paper preserved in the Chapter archives and was able to make drawings of, or notes on, some thirty marks in these. I have also to thank Prof. J. H. Baxter, of St. Andrews University, for copies of marks occurring in an old letter-book kept by the Prior there between 1418 and 1441, to be shortly printed for the University of St. Andrews by Humphrey Milford; and Mr. W. A. Churchill for marks from English incunabula. The record of early marks might be indefinitely extended by research in the Record Office and elsewhere, but the material mentioned may suffice to indicate papers in more general use in England before 1500. All the more important marks are listed below, with indications (a) of occurrences in this country; (b) of Briquet's record of similar marks abroad; (c) of deductions by Briquet, Le Clerc, and others, as to the places in which the papers were made. It will be seen that sometimes the actual mill can be identified, as in the case of a mark found in Caxton's *Canterbury Tales* (a shield bearing the name Lile, surmounted by a fleur de lis). On the other hand, it must be remembered that the assignments are sometimes only conjectural, based on the areas in which the marks are chiefly found.

LIST OF MARKS FOUND IN ENGLISH DOCUMENTS  
DOWN TO 1500

*References.* 'B.' stands for Briquet's great work *Les Filigranes* (4 vols., 4to, Paris, 1907), and is followed by references to his figures. 'Le Clerc' refers to *Le Papier* (2 vols., folio, Paris, 1928, paged continuously). 'Hunter', to his article in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. 'Sotheby Principia,' to *Principia Typographica* (3 vols., folio, 1858). 'Sotheby tracings,' to the two volumes of marks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the great collection now in the British Museum (Dept. of Printed Books, 318 b and c and 319 b).

*Acorns, Three*, with two oak leaves. Fig. 1.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Sir J. Thornton.

[B. 7437-8 (Various places, 1420-54). Prob. Italian.]

*Anchor* (simple type, with or without crosslet at base). Fig. 2.

St. Andrews Letter-book 1440, 1443.

Durham Chapter. Undated letter, early fifteenth century.

Paston letter 1457 (long and slender with circle at base).

Caxton books, 1484 and undated.

Lyndewode, Oxford, c. 1485.

[B. 346, &c. N.E. France (Champagne, &c.); see Le Clerc, p. 463 (used solely at Troyes ?).]

*Anchor in Circle.*

Caxton: Festiv. Lib. 1483, and Statutes Henry VII.

[B. 454-58, Piedmont ?; or 459-63, Venice.]

*Anvil*, with cross above. Fig. 3.

Letter to Archbp. of Canterbury 1449 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 5953-6. Italy, perhaps Fabriano.]

*Arms, France*, t below. Fig. 5.

Paston letters, 1475, 1477, 1477-8, 1479.

Caxton books, various.

Lyndewode, Oxford, c. 1485.

[B. 1741, &c. Le Clerc, p. 375 and fig. 170 (used by Jean Le Bé, of Troyes).]

*Arms, France*, per bend, on a chief three roundles (or lozenges ?), fleuron above. Fig. 6.

Paston letters, 1487-8, 1488.

[B. 1808. A nearly similar mark, with C below, is assigned by Le Clerc (p. 284, and fig. 48) to Chatonru of Troyes.]

*Arms, quarterly*, Fleur-de-lis and Dolphin, crown above.

Caxton books, 1482, 1485, &c.

[B. 1655-7, mostly France, 1477-1500.]

*Arms, Troyes (or Champagne)*, with cross above shield, t below.

Fig. 7.

Caxton books, various.

[B. 1043. Troyes. Le Clerc, Fig. 355, p. 471, the mark being there assigned to the mill of Sancey-Saint-Julien.]

*Arms, Valencia* (two pales on lozenge-shaped shield, crowned).

Fig. 8.

Paston letters, before 1459, 1470.

Caxton books, 1477, 1483 (similar, but with fesses instead of pales).

[B. 2064-8. Origin uncertain.]

*Basilisk*. See *Wyvern*.

*Bell*, normal shape. Fig. 9.

Letter to Bp. of Durham, 1420 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 4081 or 4086. Prob. France.]

—, intermediate type.

Paston letter, 1443.

[Somewhat like B. 4076. Italy.]

—, elongated, with parallel attachments. Fig. 10.

St. Andrews letter-book, 1440.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Stellingboro', late fourteenth century.

[B. 3959-85. Prob. N. Italy, perhaps Venice (current in Germany also).]

*Bird* (goose or swan).

Caxton : Virgil, 1490.

[Somewhat like B. 12155. N. Italy?]

— (Dove?). Fig. 11.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (in early section).

[B. 12181. Found in S. France, Netherlands, &c.]

*Boot*. Fig. 13.

Dover Accounts, 1345 (Hunter).

[B. 2828 or 2830. Prob. Italian.]

*Bow and Arrow*. Fig. 12.

English Household Book, c. 1370 (Hunter).

[B. 779-99. Italy (Fabriano, &c.)]

*Bull, Demi-*. Fig. 16.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (about middle of volume).

Paston letter, 1466.

[B. 2739-41. Prob. Piedmont.]

*Bull, whole*. One as Fig. 15.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (different forms in various parts of volume).

Paston letters, 1452, 1455, 1459, and undated.

[B. 2772-2801. N. Italy and S.W. France.]

*Bull's Head*. Style of Fig. 17, without flower.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (near end).

[B. 14337? Piedmont or Cent. or S. France.]

*Bull's Head*, with St. Andrew's Cross above. Figs. 14, 18.

Paston letters, many dates, 1444-79.

Caxton books, 1477, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1486.

[Used in many different regions and not easily localized. Some fall into B.'s group 1 (including one assigned to Troyes) but more into group 4. In the

latter, the most usual type (B. 15039-15112) is thought to be from S. France or Piedmont. A special form (B. 15103-12) with small circle between the horns may be from Avignon.]

*Bull's Head*, with star.

Paston letter, 1476-7.

Caxton books, 1481, 1482, 1483 (two), 1486, and undated.

[A variety of the previous form, probably from same regions.]

*Bull's Head*, with flower. Fig. 17.

Durham Chapter. Letter of Thos. Urswycke from Lytham, Lancs. Early fifteenth century?

[Sim. to B. 14401-2 (dates 1430-55). The similar type without flower is thought to be from Piedmont, or from Cent. or S. France.]

*Bull's Head*, with T (or 'tau' cross?). Fig. 19.

Caxton books, 1482, 1483.

Lyndewode, Oxford, c. 1485.

[B. 15152-83. Possibly from near Basel, but some have the small circle as in the group assigned to Avignon.]

*Cap with Fleur-de-lis*. Fig. 20.

Paston letters, 1444, 1450, 1456, 1459.

Letter in Tower, 1453 (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 9).

[B. 2825. Prob. Piedmont.]

—, another form (or crown?). Fig. 21.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (in first half of book).

[B. 2823? Perhaps Piedmont.]

*Cart, two-wheeled*. Fig. 22.

Lincoln Cathedral, Thornton MS., before 1451 (Sotheby tracing).

Tower letter, 1467-72 (ditto).

Paston letters, 1469, 1470, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475.

[B. 3528, &c. Used both at Fabriano (Cent. Italy) and at Cuneo (Piedmont).]

*Church.*

Letter of Richard III, 1484 (Sotheby tracing).  
 [Not in B.]

*Circle, cross above.*

(a) Durham Chapter. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Durham  
 [1438-57].

(b) Paston letters, 1450, 1464-6, 1486-95 (slightly different forms).  
 [(a) B. 3033-8. N. Italy.]

*Circles, Two, flanking vertical line with crosses.*

English Household Book, c. 1370 (Hunter).  
 [Not in B. ? A two-wheeled cart.]

*— —, vertical, with cross above.*

Kent document, 1380 (Hunter).  
 [B. 3159, &c. Italy, perhaps copied in Champagne.]

*Column.*

Durham Chapter. Letter from Bamburgh. Early fifteenth century.

Paston letters, 1451, 1461-9.  
 [B. 4352, &c. S. France or Piedmont.]

*—, cross above. Fig. 23.*

Paston letters, 1451-6, 1460.  
 [B. 4358-9. Prob. S. France, perhaps Avignon.]

*—, crown above. Fig. 24.*

Paston letters, 1478-9.  
 [B. 4399. ? Italy or S. France.]

*Cross, bottony-fitchy. Fig. 25.*

Tower letter, 1452-3 (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 117).  
 [B. 5634. France (Champagne or Lorraine).]

*Cross*, rustic. Fig. 26.

Paston letter, 1461 or 1462.

[Sim., B. 5622. Italy.]

*Crossbow*.

Letter to Bp. of Durham, 1420 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 723-5. Champagne.]

*Crown*, with centre-piece of lance-heads. Fig. 27.

St. Andrews Letter-book, 1436-7.

Tower document, 1464-5 (Sotheby tracing).

Durham Chapter. Letter from Carlisle. Early fifteenth century?

Paston letters, 1461, 1466-9, 1469, 1470, 1475-6, 1476-7.

Rochester document, 1452-3 (Denne).

English Heraldic MS., n.d. (Sotheby sale, Feb. 1923).

[B. 4636-48. Of wide distribution, perhaps made in Piedmont.]

—. See also *Cap*.

*Crozier* (?).

Paston letter, 1465. [Not in B.]

— (another form). Fig. 28.

Document of Duke of Bedford, n.d. (Sotheby tracing).

[Sim. to B. 5788. France.]

— and *Horn*.

Caxton: *Canterbury Tales*, first edn.

[B. 5803. N.E. France (Barrois).]

*Dog*. Fig. 30.

Paston letter, 1470-79.

Durham Chapter: Letter of Cardinal Beaufort, from Wilmington, after 1425.

Caxton books, various dates.

[B. 3609 on. Some Italian, some from Champagne (Caxtons from latter).]

*Dog's Head and Bowl.* Fig. 29.

Paston letter, 1476.

[Not in B.]

*Dolphin, Fleur-de-lis above.* Fig. 32.

Durham Chapter. Letter written from Milford. Early fifteenth century?

Lincoln Cathedral. MS. of R. Thornton before 1451 (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 39, and tracing).

[B. 5892-5. Prob. S. of France or Piedmont.]

*Fleur-de-lis, florencée.* Figs. 31, 35.

(a) Henry V to Bp. of Durham, 1418.

(b) Letter to same (larger form) (Sotheby tracings).

[(a) B. 7273. France; (b) B. 7271-2. Italy.]

—, crowned. Fig. 34.

Paston letter, 1434.

[B. 7231. France or Lorraine.]

— — (with J. B. below). Fig. 33.

Edward IV to Duke of Brittany, from Windsor, bef. 1483 (Sotheby tracing); Canterbury, 1480 (Briquet).

[B. 7251. Le Clerc, Fig. 168 (Mark of Jean Le Bé, of Troyes).]

— on shield, with label, Cross of the Passion above. Fig. 4.

Caxton books: various dates.

[B. 1541 on. Mainly France, 1428 on.]

*Flower (?)*, in Double Circle (or a wheel ?). Fig. 36.<sup>1</sup>

Paston letter, 1495.

*Golden Legend* (W. de Worde), 1499.

[B. 6608. Mark of John Tate, Hertford.]

<sup>1</sup> Tracing sent by Prof. I. Masson, Durham University.

*Flower* (periwinkle?), with cross. Fig. 37.

Durham Chapter. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Salisbury [1427-37].

Paston letter, 1467-9.

[B. 6382-91. Italian, prob. Venetian.]

— with leaves (2 varieties). Figs. 41, 43.

Paston letters, 1452, 1459, 1460, 1476-9.

[B. 6645, &c. Italian.]

*Fool's Cap* (?). Fig. 38.

Caxton books, undated. [Not in B.]

*Foot, Human.*

St. Andrews Letter-book, 1417. Fig. 40.

[B. 12408. Uncertain; occurs Lautrec 1431.]

Paston letter, 1474. Fig. 39. [Not in B.]

*Fruit.*

English MS. 1337 (Hunter).

[B. 7328, &c. Italian.]

— with leaves. Figs. 44, 45.

(Pear-shaped.)

Letters in Tower, 1370-1, 1390-2 (Sotheby tracings).

Account of voyage to Normandy, 1360 (Hunter).

[B. 7349, &c. Italian. Some possibly Troyes (see Le Clerc, p. 452).]

(Pomegranate?)

English Household Book, c. 1370 (Hunter).

[B. 7397, &c. Prob. Italian, some perhaps Troyes.]

*Goat* (or Bull?). Fig. 42.

Letter, Henry VI to Archbp. of Canterbury [1443-50]

(Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 115).

[B. 2820 (Nantes 1449).]

*Goat's Head (or Bull's).*

Paston letters, 1444, 1440-50, 1469-70.

[B. 15206?, classed as Bull's. France or Piedmont.]

*Grapes, with slender stalk, in loop. Fig. 49.*

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (middle of book).

Paston letters, 1454, before 1460.

[B. 13037, &amp;c. Piedmont; but tentatively claimed for Troyes by Le Clerc (p. 469).]

## — in leafy branch. Fig. 50.

Paston letters, 1462, 1473.

Letter in Tower, 1472-3; MS. 1475 (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 13056, Prob. Piedmont.]

*Hand or Glove, with star or fleuron, fingers together or separate.*

Figs. 46, 47.

Paston letters, various dates, 1462-1503.

Caxton books, various dates.

Pynson: *Canterbury Tales*, 1491.

Letter of Henry VII, 1506 (Sotheby tracing).

[These belong to groups showing general similarity, making localization difficult. Those in Caxtons come near B. 10711, 10714, 11151, and 11158; one in the Paston letters to B. 11164 or 11167. Most appear to be from Piedmont (Pignerolo) or Genoa, rather than S.W. France.]

## — — small, cross below. Fig. 51.

Letter to Bp. of Bath [1433-43] (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 8).

[B. 10687. Piedmont or S. France.]

*Hand, with cuff, mostly with fleuron above. Fig. 48.*

Paston letters, c. 1490-1500 (with fleuron).

Caxton books, 1483-6 (some without fleuron).

[B. 11399 on. N.E. France. Le Clerc assigns the mark to several Troyes makers (see Pl. XLV, XLVIII, LXI, and p. 473).]

*Hand, Blessing.*

Paston letter, 1487-95.

[B.'s group V. French (one only Venetian?).]

*Head, Human.* Figs. 54, 55.

(a) Henry VI to Bp. of Bath [1432-43] (Sotheby tracing).

(b) Paston letter, 1461.

[(a) B. 15622, &c. Italy; (b) B. 15629-38 ? Piedmont or S. France.]

*Horn, with thong.* Fig. 52.

Letter to R. Scroope, c. 1380; to Bp. of Durham, 1421  
(Sotheby tracings).

Durham Chapter. Letter from Archdn. of Northumberland, c. 1430.

Paston letters, 1463-6, 1464.

[Huchet of B. The forms are generally similar and difficult to localize; the above probably Italian.]

*Horse's Head.*

Durham Chapter. Undated letter referring to 'John of Lincoln' as presentee to Howden.

[B. 15561-73. Italian.]

*Keys, crossed*, in different forms, two as in Figs. 59, 60.

Paston letters, 1460, 1469-70, 1477.

[B. 3855-9 and 3867-70. Perhaps Piedmont. (The intermediate example, Fig. 59, not in B.)]

*Keys, parallel*, back to back. Fig. 61.

Caxton books, *Jason* and *Descr. of Britain*.

[B. 3818, &c. Champagne. Le Clerc, p. 468, says prob. from a mill of the Chapter of St. Pierre at Troyes.]

*Lamb, Paschal*, with halo. Fig. 56.

Caxton: *Golden Legend*, 1483.

Paston letter, 1485.

[B. 26. Prob. Lorraine, Alsace, or Vosges.]

*Letter C. Fig. 53.*

Paston letter, 1465-6.

[B. 8108-11. S. of France.]

*Letters DP joined. Fig. 58.*Caxton: *Jason*, [1477].

[B. 9744-9771. E. or S.E. France.]

*Letter M, cross above. Fig. 57.*

Durham Chapter. Letter of H. Bowet, before 1401.

[B. 8341-54. Italian.]

*Letter P, Gothic. Two forms as in Figs. 62, 63.*

Durham Chapter. Letter from Kendal. Early fifteenth century?

Paston letters, various, 1472-1500.

Caxton books, various.

[B. 8519 on. A mark with many variations, current in many different regions. Said to have been used by Piétrequin of Troyes. The Durham ex. (fig. 63) corresponds to B. 8692, thought to be from Piedmont.]

*Letter R, cross above. Fig. 64.*

Durham Chapter. Letters from Bp. of Salisbury [1388-95] and Bp. of Norwich [1446-50].

English document, c. 1370 (Hunter).

[B. 8924-46. Italian.]

*Letter T (small).*

Paston letter, 1487.

[B. 9116? Uncertain.]

*Letter Y, Gothic. Fig. 65.*

Paston letters, 1475, 1477, 1478, (another style) 1483.

Caxton books, 1480, 1483, 1484, and undated.

[B. 9165, &amp;c. N.E. France. (Not in Le Clerc.)]

*Lion, Rampant.* Fig. 66.

Letter to Bp. of Winchester [1412-17] (Sotheby tracing).

[B. 10499 or 10506. Italian.]

*Mounts, three, cross above.* Fig. 67.

Durham Chapter: Capit. Gen., 1435-56 (first paper used).

[B. 11678 on. Italian.]

— — in circle, cross above.

Letter to Bp. of Exeter [1397-1400] (Sotheby tracing).

Paston letter, temp. Edward IV.

[B. 11854, &c. Italian.]

*Name 'Lile' on Shield, fleur-de-lis above.* Fig. 68.

Caxton: *Canterbury Tales*, 1st edn.

? Paston letter, 1477 (mark as printed possibly a misreading of above: cf. Briquet, 2045, where the letters are doubtfully read as NES.).

[B. 1886. N.E. France. Le Clerc (pp. 179-82) shows that it is the mark of the 'Moulin de Lile' of Mussy-sur-Seine.]

*Pillar.* See *Column*.

*Pope, with keys and Tiara.*

Caxton: *Jason*, [1477].

[B. 7546-50. Troyes (see also Le Clerc, p. 469).]

*Pot or Chalice, with cover, some with cross.* Fig. 70.

Paston letters, 1479 and temp. Henry VII (no cross).

Caxton books, 1477, 1480, 1483.

[B. 12476-86. Champagne. The pot (? in another style) was used by Jean Pothier, of Troyes, c. 1520 (Le Clerc, p. 431).]

*Ram's Head.* Fig. 69.

Thornton MS. Lincoln Cathedral, before 1451 (Sotheby tracing).

[Roughly sim. to B. 15464, &c. Italian.]

*Ring*, some with star. Fig. 71.

Paston letters, c. 1451, 1460.

Letter to Bp. of Bath [1467-73] (Sotheby tracing).

Caxton: *Golden Legend*, 1483 (with star).

Lyndewode, Oxford, c. 1485 (with star).

[B. 689, 691. Piedmont (Cuneo).]

*Rod (?) (Férule of Briquet).*

Dover MS. book, 1345 (Hunter).

[B. 6175, but with two arms only. Italian.]

*Scales*, triangular pans.

Durham Chapter. Letter of Bp. of Bath [1425-43]; Capit.

Gen., 1435-56 (first half of book).

[B. 2394, &c. Italian, prob. Venetian.]

— in circle, triangular pans.

Paston letter, 1458.

[B. 2445, &c. Prob. Venetian.]

*Scissors*, Type 1. Fig. 72.

Paston letter, 1450.

Caxton: *Reynard*, 1481.

[B. 3744, &c. Italian (Fabriano and Genoa).]

— Type 2. Figs. 73, 74.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Lichfield, early 15th cent.

St. Andrews Letter-book, 1426-31.

Paston letters, 1455, 1471.

Caxton books, 1482, 1483.

Caxton: *Golden Legend*, 1483 (with fleuron).

Lyndewode, Oxford, c. 1485 (with fleuron).

[B. 3663, &c., 3731. Italian (Fabriano and Genoa).]

*Serpent.* Fig. 75.

Letter to Archbp. of Canterbury, 1447 (Sotheby tracing).  
Paston letters, 1454, (smaller) 1468.  
[B. 13659, &c. Milan District.]

*Ship.*

Paston letter, temp. Henry VII.  
Caxton : *Directorium Sacerdotum*, n.d.; *Virgil*, 1490.  
[B. 11971? Prob. Troyes (but not in Le Clerc).]

*Siren, with mirror.* Fig. 76.

Caxton book, 1477.  
[B. 13857-9. French, prob. Champagne (cf. Le Clerc, p. 468).]

*Stag, Rampant.*

Durham Chapter. Letter of T. Langley, Bp. of Durham  
[1406-36], from London.  
[B. 3296, &c. Italian.]

—, *Passant*. Style of Fig. 77.

*Ibid.* Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Salisbury, before 1438.  
[B. 3302-3. Uncertain.]

*Stag's Head.*

(a) Letter to J. Searle [1399-1403] (Sotheby tracing).  
Fig. 80.  
(b) Caxton books, 1486 and undated.  
[(a) B. 15488, &c. Italian; (b) B. 15545. Differs from normal Ital. or  
French types: found at Troyes, but more often in Holland.]

*Star, 6-rayed, with cross above.* Fig. 79.

Durham Chapter. Letter from Howden. Early fifteenth  
century?  
[B. 6044 (dates 1412-19). Italian (occurs at Fabriano, &c.).]

*Star*, 8-rayed, with crown above. Fig. 78.

Paston letter, 1485.

Caxton books, 1480 and undated.

[B. 6116, &c. Prob. Champagne; see also Le Clerc, pl. XLIV, Fig. 176 (attributed to Guillaume Le Bé, of Troyes); here the rays are wavy, and the sun may be intended.]

*Sun*, wavy rays. Fig. 83.

Hylton: *Scala Perfectionis* (W. de Worde), 1494.

Durham Chapter. Curia capit. Burgi de Crocegate, 1498–1524 (throughout).

[B. 13929–30, 13940, French. Le Clerc, no. 175, a mark of G. Le Bé.]

— with IHS. One as Fig. 84.

Paston letters, 1450, 1465–6.

[B. 9478, 9480, the latter prob. from Piedmont.]

*Tower*, single.

Durham Chapter. Letter of R. Neville, Bp. of Salisbury [1427–37].

[B. 15869, &c. Italian.]

*Unicorn, Passant*, French type. Fig. 81.

Tower Letter of 1451 (Sotheby tracing).

Paston letters, 1473, 1479, 1487, 1491.

Caxton books, 1483, 1489, and undated.

[B. 9979 on. France, various, including Troyes. Cf. Le Clerc, pp. 426–31 and pl. LVIII–LX (marks of Piétrequin of Troyes).]

*Unicorns' Heads*, two, back to back. Fig. 87.

Paston letter, 1440.

Tower documents, 1443, &c. (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 71).

[B. 15839–43. Italian.]

*Wheel, Toothed*.<sup>1</sup> Figs. 82, 85, 86.

(a) Tower letter [1443–50] (Sotheby, *Principia*, iii, p. 53).

With crank.

<sup>1</sup> Generally taken for St. Catherine's wheel, but Mr. W. A. Churchill suggests that it is rather that by which the rags were mashed in the paper-mills.



\* Freehand copies



+ *Freehand copies*



+ Freehand copies



+ Freehand copies

- (b) Paston letters, 1460, 1468, 1474-5.
- (c) Ditto 1489 (with flowers(?) above, no crank).
- (d) Caxton book, 1489 (with star above).

[*(a) B. 13275; (b) B. 13252, 13294, &c.; (c) cf. B. 13362; (d) B. 13356.*  
All French, esp. Auvergne.]

*Wyvern* (Basilisk of Briquet). Fig. 88.

Henry VI to Archbp. of Canterbury, 1453 (Sotheby tracing).<sup>1</sup>  
[B. 2660, &c. Italian.]

Summarizing the information at present available, we note that—as has indeed long been recognized—much of the paper formerly used in this country was Italian—as was only natural in view of the priority of that country in paper-making. Sotheby himself was aware that some of the paper in early English books was Italian, and in an article in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. xiii (quoted by Dr. McKerrow in his ‘Introduction to Bibliography’), Dr. P. H. Aitken mentioned that of the paper in the archives of the Drapers’ Company, all dating from the early part of the fifteenth century was Italian, and all from the end of that century French. But some caution is here necessary, as there is ground for thinking that some of the early Italian marks were closely copied by the paper-makers of Troyes in Champagne.<sup>2</sup> A good deal of paper with such marks is to be found in the local records of Troyes, and it is hardly likely that such paper should have been imported from Italy into that paper-making centre. However this may be, this country derived a large supply from Italy, and the wreck off Dunster of a vessel from Genoa with twenty bales of paper in its cargo (as early as 1380) is recorded.

<sup>1</sup> Many other English occurrences might no doubt be found. It is met with in accounts kept at Bordeaux during the English occupation, 1378 and 1411 (Hunter).

<sup>2</sup> In the late sixteenth century the distinctly Italian mark of the crossed arrows appears to have been used also at Troyes.

But by no means all of such paper was necessarily of Genoese make, for Genoa would be the natural port of shipment for paper from other parts of north Italy, especially Piedmont.

Besides the marks doubtfully attributed to Troyes, there are many others found in English documents which certainly denote paper made in that region, which for a time became perhaps the main source of supply to this country. This is sufficiently explained by the importance of the Troyes fair, to which traders flocked from all parts. The long occupation of the town by the English might also be thought to have encouraged the import of paper thence, were it not that this became important only somewhat later.

Considering the long occupation of Aquitaine by the English, it is remarkable how small is the evidence for any large supply of paper to us from south-west France, at least in the period in question. Possibly, however, some of the paper attributed to southern France, alternatively or side by side with Piedmont, may have been exported through Bordeaux. As is natural, but little seems to have been obtained from Auvergne or central France, and, what is more surprising, little or none from north-west France, from which in later times much of our paper appears to have come.

There is little if any trace of a supply from Germany or the Rhine countries before 1500, unless some of the paper marked with the bull's head came from south Germany, where the mark was much used, in a rather special form. Apart from John Tate's mark, only one of those in our list—Fig. 19—is definitely attributed to a region neither French nor Italian.

If the imperfect data in the foregoing list justify any attempt to gauge the relative importance of the French and Italian supplies on a numerical basis, we find that, taking the period as a whole, the Italian is decidedly in the ascendant. If we assign doubtful attributions (as between France and Italy) to both countries alike, the total of marks reaches 51 for Italy,

as against 40 for France. If we consider the first part of the period only (down to c. 1450) the advantage goes still more strikingly to Italy, the relative numbers being 41 and 11, and a part of the latter may have really been from Piedmont. After 1450 the position changes, and between that year and 1500 we get only 25 Italian as against 31 French, a good many of the early Italian papers having apparently dropped out of the running. This bears out the facts recorded by Dr. Aitken in regard to the records of the Drapers' Company.

If we attempt to distinguish the sources of supply *within* the two leading countries, we find that Piedmont takes an easy lead, so far as the papers are assigned to any particular region of modern Italy, though many of those classed merely as Italian may come from the peninsula. Only two or three (particularly the hand and the scissors) are definitely associated with Genoa and its neighbourhood, and about the same number with Venice and (possibly) Fabriano respectively. Of the French paper-making districts, Troyes, or Champagne as a whole, comes decidedly to the fore in the later period, 18 papers out of a total of 31 being assigned to that region. (It will have been noticed that a good many of the Caxton papers were from Troyes, though others were still from Italy.) The only other French competitors—and these hopelessly outdistanced—are the south of France and Lorraine with the Barrois.

These conclusions must be regarded, however, as tentative only, in view of the somewhat limited nature of the data used.

A consideration of the sources of supply in the sixteenth century, which, again, show a certain shifting, must be left for another occasion.

*Note.*—The figures of marks have all been reduced to half-scale. Some have necessarily been copied by eye only, and may be not quite correct in small details. Where a single document is assigned in the list to a period of years, it is to be understood as falling somewhere within the limits given.

## EXTANT AUTOGRAPH MATERIAL BY SHAKESPEARE'S FELLOW DRAMATISTS

By HENRIETTA C. BARTLETT



VER Y one who teaches or lectures about Shakespeare must be prepared for a certain number of questions as to his right to be considered the author of the plays and poems which bear his name, and as to the scarcity of information which exists about him.

It would seem that these questions arise in great part from a lack of knowledge of the conditions of his time, the facts about other writers of his period, and from a failure to realize that Shakespeare should not be studied as an individual apart from all others, but as the logical product of the literary, social and dramatic conditions of the latter part of the sixteenth century in England. That he was greater than any of his contemporaries no one denies, but that he was entirely different and unrelated to the rest, leads only to a one-sided view which cannot be the best.

One of the most frequent questions which I have had to answer in the past fifteen years is, 'Do you not think it strange 'that we have only his six signatures and a debated three pages 'in the play of Sir Thomas More? If Shakespeare really wrote 'the plays, do you not think there would be more of his writing 'and manuscripts in existence?' The answer to this seems obvious. There are no autograph remains for most of the other poets and dramatists of the period, other than an occasional letter or document referring to some side of their lives removed from literature. The letters of statesmen and soldiers were preserved, and the correspondence of the great noble

families, but the ordinary folk wrote few letters, and the manuscripts of poets or playwrights were destroyed in the printing-house or lost in the theatre.

In order that these facts might be documented as fully as possible, I sent out, in 1925, a circular-letter to the more important libraries in England and America, asking what they had in autograph material written by ten men, poets and dramatists, who were born between 1554 and 1575 and who were all writing while Shakespeare was working in London. The men were selected because they represented as nearly as possible the class to which Shakespeare belonged.

Since the only absolutely established writing of Shakespeare is his signatures, the signatures of these men are included. The list consists of

- John Lyly, c. 1554-1606
- Thomas Kyd, 1558-94
- Thomas Lodge, c. 1557-1625
- George Peele, c. 1558-96
- Robert Greene, c. 1560-92
- Samuel Daniel, c. 1563-1619
- Christopher Marlowe, 1564-93
- George Chapman, c. 1559-1634
- Ben Jonson, 1572-1637
- Thomas Heywood, c. 1574-1641

Perhaps the first thing that strikes one in this list is that we do not know definitely the date of birth of seven of these men, while the dates of Shakespeare's birth and death are both known.

As regards extant autographic material, Dr. W. W. Greg in his researches for *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650, Part I, Dramatists*, Oxford University Press, 1925, has not found anything by Robert Greene, Christopher Marlowe, Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, John Webster, John Ford or James Shirley, so these must be omitted from the comparison.

Of the other eight names on the list, we find the following items listed in the libraries examined :

John Lyly.

- 2 autograph letters, signed, in the British Museum.
- 1 autograph letter, signed, in the Public Records Office, London.
- 5 autograph letters, signed, among the Cecil papers at Hatfield.

Thomas Kyd.

- 1 autograph letter, signed, in the British Museum.
- 1 autograph document, unsigned, in the British Museum.

George Peele.

- autograph manuscript of his *Anglorum Feriae*, 17 November 1595, in the British Museum.
- 1 autograph letter, signed, in the British Museum.
- 1 signature, at the Bodleian.

Samuel Daniel.

- Portions of *Hymen's Triumph*, including dedicatory poem, signed, in Edinburgh University Library.
- 1 stanza from autograph presentation copy of Daniel's *Panegyrick to the Kinges Most sacred majestie*, in the British Museum.
- 1 autograph letter, signed, in Public Records Office.
- 1 autograph letter, signed, at Hatfield.

George Chapman.

- 1 autograph document, signed, now in the British Museum but formerly at Dulwich.
- 1 autograph document, signed, at Dulwich College.
- 1 dedication signature in a book, at Dulwich.
- 1 dedication signature in a book, at the Bodleian.

Ben Jonson.

- autograph epistle to Queen Anna written on the back of title of his *Masque of Queenes*, 1606, in British Museum.

Autograph manuscript of the entire *Masque of Queenes*, in British Museum.

Autograph subscription and signature at end of manuscript of *Masque of Blackness*, in British Museum.

Autograph verses to Sir Horace Veré, in British Museum.

Autograph verses to Earl of Somerset, in British Museum.

3 autograph letters, signed, in British Museum.

1 autograph letter, signed, in Public Records Office.

Jonson left a large number of books containing his signature and many survive to this day. A list of them will be found in Simpson and Herford, *Works of Ben Jonson*, 1925, vol. i, Appendix IV. Such books contain the only examples of the writing of any of the men on this list, to be found in America.

Thomas Heywood.

Autograph manuscripts of two plays, unsigned, but considered by Dr. Greg to be by Heywood, in the British Museum.

It is interesting to find that the British Museum, that storehouse of all learning for scholars of English literature, contains nearly all the extant material.

This is all that was reported from the following libraries in 1926, and to my knowledge nothing new has turned up since.

#### ENGLAND

##### *Libraries containing material*

1. Albert and Victoria Museum
2. Bodleian, Oxford
3. British Museum
4. Cambridge University
5. Dulwich College
6. Edinburgh University
7. Public Records Office, London
8. Trinity College, Cambridge

##### *Reporting no material*

1. Birmingham Public Library
2. Cardiff City Libraries, Wales
3. Guildhall, London
4. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow
5. John Rylands Library, Manchester

## AMERICA

*Libraries containing material*

1. Columbia University
2. Harvard University
3. Huntington Library, San Gabriel, Cal.
4. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
5. New York Public Library
6. Yale University

*Reporting no material*

1. Boston Public Library
2. Cornell University
3. Michigan University

4. Princeton University

A careful examination of this evidence should go far to convince the doubters that the wonder is that we *do* have six reliable signatures of Shakespeare, not that we cannot produce whole manuscripts in his autograph. This is but one of the many points in connexion with the greatest literary genius of the world, which show how much more helpful it is to study him in connexion with the other men of his period, rather than as a person apart from his day and generation.

## THE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS IN THE GREAT FIRE

By ELEANORE BOSWELL



VERY ONE who has read Mr. W. G. Bell's vivid account of the burning of old St. Paul's<sup>1</sup> knows how heavy a toll of books and manuscripts the Great Fire took in that quarter of the city. The fates of Stationers' Hall, Dean Colet's school and St. Faith's under Paul's were the great tragedies; among those of lesser moment and yet sad enough was the destruction of the Harveian Library in the Royal College of Physicians at Amen Corner. This was a small library and its treasures were few, and when, as a result of its loss, the Marquess of Dorchester bequeathed his magnificent collection to the Physicians, its story was soon forgotten by all except a few intimately concerned with the history of the college. Yet some of the pre-fire books have survived, and it seems worth while, if only on their account, to recall the story of the building of the library and its destruction, and the consequent struggle between the college and Dr. Christopher Merrett, the then Harveian Librarian. I first met Dr. Merrett in the High Court of Chancery in the Public Record Office; interest in his story carried me to the present college in Pall Mall, where the generous courtesy of the officers and a willing expenditure of time and labour on the part of the Assistant Librarian have enabled me to consult the archives and examine many of the books.

It is not my task to write the history of the college library. That has been done, briefly, by Dr. Munk in vol. 3 of his

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London*, 1920, ch. vii.

*Roll of the college*,<sup>1</sup> though a collection that includes one of the earliest Persian manuscripts (*Dakbirah i kwarazmshahi*), a 1475 Caxton (*The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy*), and a Chaucer manuscript deserves to be better known than it is. For my purpose I must summarize prior to 1666, omitting all that follows the building of a new library to house the Dorchester bequest. There were various early gifts to the college library, the most important being a bequest of 680 volumes from Dr. Holsbosch, a German who had practised surgery and physic in England for half a century, but had never associated himself with the college. Shortly after this, in 1632, Dr. Harvey drew up a set of rules for the use of the library, but it would seem that no building yet existed, for twenty years later he laid before a college meeting a proposal, supposedly from an anonymous friend, to erect and equip a building to be used as a library and museum. The new building was formally opened on 2 February 1653, and apparently it was then known to be Harvey's own gift, for his colleagues set up in it a bust of the great physician and a laudatory inscription. John Aubrey gives a rather disconcerting description of the place as 'a noble building of Roman architecture (of rustic work, 'with Corinthian pilasters), comprising a great parlour, a kind 'of convocation house for the fellows to meet in below, and 'a library above'.<sup>2</sup> At Harvey's suggestion, Dr. Merrett, who was already the tenant of the college house, was made librarian. The value of a resident librarian was obvious, and the college decided on 19 June 1654 that the librarian should have the lease of the college house and should be appointed for life 'vnlesse the College should see great cause to the Contrary'.<sup>3</sup> They had already expressed their appreciation of Merrett's services by remitting his rent of £20 *per annum* and all taxes,

<sup>1</sup> W. Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Dr. Munk, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, Chancery, C 8.241/41.

until other provision should be made for him. At this time he seems to have been held in general esteem; he was Harvey's friend, and, as a later President put it, many of the members had 'a particular kindnesse and ffreindshipp' for him.

In 1656 Harvey established a trust whereby he conveyed to the college his property in Burmarsh, Kent, and, among other things, provided for the maintenance of the library which he had built 'out of his great affecccōn to Learning & to the 'Colledge of Physicians in London whereof he was a very 'worthy member'.<sup>1</sup> The deed of trust provides for a library keeper who should have a residence in the college, to be chosen from time to time by the President, the two eldest Censors, and the Elects or the greater part of them, to be removable at their pleasure, and to give proper security for the just performance of his duties. Out of the income from the Burmarsh estate he was to receive £20 *per annum*, beginning at the quarter day next after Harvey's death.<sup>2</sup>

Although Merrett was never formally elected according to these terms, he continued to serve as librarian *de facto*. It is not quite clear whether, after Harvey's death, his £20 salary was cancelled against his rent or whether for a time he actually received it in addition to holding his house rent free. There is ample evidence that the college authorities then thought well of him, and the library flourished under his care. Other gifts were received, notably £100 in 1655 from the Marquess of Dorchester, to buy books. By 1660 the library had assumed such proportions that Merrett made a catalogue, had it printed, and, he said, presented a copy to each of the fellows. A unique copy of this slim quarto has survived and is now in the British Museum (press mark 821.h.2). The title-page reads: CATALOGUS / Librorum, Instrumentorum Chirurgico- / rum,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> H. M. Barlow, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Legal and other Documents in the Archives of the Royal College of Physicians*, 1924, pp. 267, 269.

rerum curiosarum, / Exoticarumque / COLL. MED. Lond. / Quæ / Habentur in Musæo Harveano. / (rule) / Præside **EDOARDO ALSTONO** / Equite Aurato. / (rule) / Curâ **CHRISTOPHORI MERRETT** / Socii Med. Regii jurati primique hujus Musæi Custodis / ab ipso fundatore ad hoc munus publicè de- / stinati, Anno Dom. 1636. / (rule. type ornament. rule.) / Impressus Lond. 15° Decembr. 1660. There is no colophon; the signatures run A-F<sup>4</sup>, G<sup>2</sup>. Merrett has listed in it some 1,278 titles, and his work does not testify too highly to his skill as a bibliographer, but on the whole it is fairly easy to identify books and editions from his description. Six books printed before 1500 are included, all of which were destroyed in the fire:

- ‘ Florentini Nic. Opera Papiæ 1484.’
- ‘ Liber Regalis dispositionis quem Stephanus ex Arab. in Lat. transl. Ven. 1492.’
- ‘ Joannitii ad Tegn. Gal. Isagoge, Venetiis, 1493.’
- ‘ Gaguinus Robert de origine gentis Francorum, Paris, 1495.’
- ‘ Aphorismi Rab. Mosis Secundum doctr. Galeni, Bergomii, 1497.’
- ‘ Matth. de Gradi Joan. practices prima & secunda pars cum textu noni ad Almansorem Papiæ 1497.’

At the end of the volume are two lists, one of surgical instruments, the other of seventy-four ‘Res Curiosæ et Exoticæ’, the contents of the Museum. In it shells and fish-heads, dried plants and herbs, the skeleton of an ostrich and that of an infant jostle each other in cheerful confusion. There was a ‘Cranium fissum gladio’, a ‘Cerebrum Humanum ex cerâ Fabrifactum’, a ‘Corpus ex Mummia’, an ‘E meu pellis & ossa’, a ‘Jabirete piscis cauda quinq; pedes longa’, and, surely the greatest of their treasures, ‘2 Cutes Humanæ præparatæ hæc arte Alutaria illa pellionum’. Doubtless other books and other

specimens came into the library before the fire, but this catalogue must represent by far the greater part of the collection.

The troubles of the college began in 1665, when the Great Plague fell upon London. Merrett removed his family to the country and sought safety there himself, so that the college house was closed. Nevertheless, the treasurer stored there the college plate and some £1,000 or £1,100 in money, in an iron chest placed in a room which he had made especially strong and secure. At some unknown date thieves broke in, forced the chest, and plundered the entire treasure. The caduceus is the only piece of plate now in the possession of the college which antedates this episode: it was probably in the president's keeping. Suspicion fell on the college chemist, who had a laboratory in the garden, and on the workmen who had been employed in the strong room, but nothing could be proved. Later, in the stress of other troubles, the college accused Merrett of being an accomplice, at least *post factum*, but since they preferred their complaint in Chancery, Merrett put in a demurrer on the grounds of a criminal accusation and the Court threw out the charge.<sup>1</sup> The failure of the college to carry their plea into another court at least suggests that they included it in their Chancery bill merely to discredit Merrett. But this carries us rather ahead of our story.

Serious loss as this was, far greater calamity fell upon the college in the following year, when the buildings at Amen Corner were totally destroyed in the Great Fire. As is well known, flames first broke out at St. Paul's on the night of Tuesday 4 September, but the environs of the Cathedral had then been burning for many hours. Dr. Merrett's son later testified in Chancery<sup>2</sup> that the college was burnt down 'on Tuesday abt 3 or 4 of Clock aft<sup>r</sup> noon'. He gives a vivid description of the scene and tells how his father laboured, with

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., Chancery, C 5.88/57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., C 24/1066, pt. 2, no. 90.

only the beadle's assistance, to save the books and valuables in his charge, sparing no pains or expense, and totally neglecting his own large and valuable library, which was almost entirely destroyed. On the afternoon when the college burned, 'all the Cheifest of y<sup>e</sup> books & Things of Value in & abt y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Library & College were brought in to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> College yard in readynes to p<sup>r</sup>serve y<sup>m</sup>'. He himself was, he believed, the last person in the building 'when seu<sup>r</sup>all of y<sup>e</sup> College books in a great heap were on fyre & [he] & some of his ff<sup>r</sup>ds sau<sup>d</sup> seu<sup>r</sup>all burthens of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> heap of books soe on fyre & in pticular y<sup>e</sup> 4 Tomes of Johnston de Animalibus & some oth<sup>r</sup>s w<sup>ch</sup> he hath now forgotten'. As he came through Warwick Lane with his last armful, the flames burst out on both sides. He further stated that 'some tyme aft<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> late dreadfull fyre [his 'father] took a Catalogue of w<sup>t</sup> Books he had sau<sup>d</sup> both of his 'own & y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Colleges books & haueing compared y<sup>e</sup> same w<sup>th</sup> his old Catalogue strook out lightly w<sup>th</sup> a pen such books as 'he had lost & this Dept running cursorily ou<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> old Catalogue computed above 1500 books to be lost. And this Dept 'hath often heard [his father] say y<sup>t</sup> he had exactly computed 'his own losse of books & found it to be about 1800 many 'whereof were choice & not to be retrieved as this Dept found 'by search among y<sup>e</sup> Booksell<sup>r</sup>s att severall tymes & this Dept 'furth<sup>r</sup> sayth as to y<sup>e</sup> value of [his father's] s<sup>d</sup> Losse he cannot 'duly estimat it but hath heard it to be abt 500<sup>t</sup> by those 'that are more competent Calculat<sup>r</sup>s y<sup>n</sup> [i.e. than] this Dept is.'

It seems likely enough that Merrett did what he could to save the library, and that the other officers, not being on the spot, failed to concern themselves about it. On that terrible day of panic, duty and responsibility took on strange shapes. But rightly or wrongly, what happened then seems to have inaugurated a bitter feud between Merrett and the college. He was blamed for the loss of the books, and at the same time

accused of having saved them and appropriated them to his own use. His attitude toward those in authority was censured as disrespectful and irreverent. Merrett complained of the loss of his house, for which he held an unexpired lease, and the withdrawal of his salary as librarian. The college finances were, of course, in a critical condition, and the officers decided that inasmuch as there was no library there could be no librarian. The dissension dragged on for an incredible time before coming to a head. In 1669 the college compounded with the Dean and Chapter of Paul's for £550 for the surrender of their lease. Merrett received £50 of this: as he claimed, from the Dean and Chapter in consideration of his interest in the property; as the college said and as their records show, from them in full satisfaction of his loss of house and salary. Some time later he refused to give up the books in his possession and was threatened with legal proceedings, but the college was evidently loath to make the matter public and still delayed. With growing bitterness Merrett withdrew from all college affairs and refused to attend the college meetings, with the inevitable result that on 30 September 1681 he was voted *non socius*, that is, he was deprived of his place as one of the thirty fellows who constituted the governing body of the college. He was not debarred from practising medicine, nor, I think, from being a member of the college. An attempt to be reinstated on a *mandamus* from the Court of King's Bench met with complete failure.<sup>1</sup> Meantime, the President of the college, Sir John Micklethwait, had taken the more serious step of carrying the question of the books and the salary into Chancery, where he filed a bill against Merrett on 21 January 1680/1, and Merrett promptly retaliated with a cross-bill. The intricacies of the legal proceedings, which lasted some two years

<sup>1</sup> Details will be found in 'Goodall on College Affairs', a MS. in the Library of the College. See also Barlow, *op. cit.*, under 'Merrett'.

and included a trial at law in the Court of the Exchequer, need not detain us.<sup>1</sup> The college produced evidence that Merrett had never been duly elected and had given no security, and that the £50 paid him in 1669 was received by him as full satisfaction for his unexpired lease and the loss of his place as library keeper. Merrett was ordered to restore to the college all the books and other things in his possession, and I think we may safely assume that he did so. The real equity of the situation is by no means clear: it is possible that Merrett was deeply wronged, but it is difficult to believe that such men as Sir George Ent, Sir Charles Scarburgh, and Sir John Micklethwait would be capable of deliberate wrongdealing. It is curious that Merrett failed to charge the college with breach of the Harvey trust; no one seems to have doubted their right to dispense with a librarian.

The most important of the documents pertaining to the trial is Merrett's answer to the Chancery bill brought by the college. To this he appended a sworn statement of the books and valuables rescued by him and then in his possession. I transcribe this as it stands, with all its sins upon it, but it is only fair to say that most of them are probably to be fathered on the Chancery clerk who made the copy.

\*Matthias de Lobell Dutch Antwerp 1581.

\*Pharmacopæa Augustana Hippocrat & Hermitica Augustæ 1646.

\*Pauli Zacchæi Questiones medico-legales Amstelodami 1651.

Horstij dispensatoriū chymicu' vniversale ffrancofurti 1650.

Scheineri Rosa vrsinae Bacciani 1629.

Giggæi Thesaurus Lingua Arab: vol. 4. Mediolani 1632.

Euclidis Elementorum libri 13. Arab. Romæ 1594.

Specimen Arabici Dictionarij Gulielmi Bedwelli manusc'.

<sup>1</sup> The Chancery records will be found, in addition to the references given above, in C 24/1065/73; Chancery Reports 209; C 33/256, 258, 260. Copies of the more important documents and of documents pertaining to the King's Bench *mandamus* are in the college and will be found in Barlow's Catalogue.

- \*Museum Calceolarij Veronæ 1622.
- \*Suidas vol. 2. Geneva 1619.
- \*Avicenna Lat'. vol. 2. venetijs 1564.
- Athenasij Kircheri Musurgia Romæ 1650.
- Northumberland Duke vol. 3. in florenza 1646. 1647.
- \*Palazzi Antichi di Genoa Da Pietro Paulo Rubens Antwerp 1642.
- \*Atlas vol. 5. p Ianssoniu' Amstelodami.
- Aguilonij optica Antwerpia 1613.
- Johis Seldani Manuscr' Arabica vizt.
- Cononis Avicennæ pars prima.
- Liber medicus Authore Alphendi.
- Mala Yasa.
- Liber medicus Carmine Turcico.
- Dochicato Chorwarezin Shali.
- Comentarij in Aphorism Hippocratis.
- Galen de Simpt medic' charatere Syriaco.
- Tacweinol Sehali.
- Sharhol Canunjah Compend: med:
- Civitates orbis terrarū' vol. 2. Coloniae Agrippinæ 1572.
- Plutarchi opera Græco-Lat. vol. 2. Lutet Paris 1624.
- Avicenna Arab: Romæ 1593.
- Historia Lugdunensis Lugduni 1586. vol. 2.
- \*Tabermonitanus vol. 2. ffrancfurt 1613.
- Bettini Aparia Mathemat' Bononiæ 1645.
- Gabrielis fhalopij opera ffrancfurt 1584.
- \*Caroli Clusij Plantar' Historia vol 2. Antwerp. 1601.
- Nicholai Cabei Philosophia magnet' fferariæ 1639.
- Dr. Crookes discripcōn of the body of man London 1631.
- \*Sexti Empirici opera Genevæ 1621.
- Les Images ou Tableaux de Platte peinteur a paris 1614.
- \*Camerarij Kreuter buch ffrancfurt 1600.
- Aristotelis opera omnia Græco-Lat' vol. 2. Lutet Paris 1629.
- Galtsij opera vol. 5. Antverpiæ.
- Crutij Quasita p Epistolās in arte medica Venetijs 1622.
- Lipsij Opera vol: 6 Antwerp 1637.
- Charletoni Physiologia Epicure-Gassendiana London 1654.
- Salmasij Plinianæ exercitacōnes Parisijs 1629. vol. 2.
- \*Johis Riolani opera Anat' Lutet Paris 1649.
- Masarij opera Lugduni 1634.
- Dodonei Stirpiu' Historia Antwerpia 1616.
- \*Pharmacopea Londinensis Londoni 1650.

- \*Placentini nova Anatomia ffrancfurt 1622.
- \*Gesner de Animalibus vol. 4 Tiguri 1555.
- Avicenna Arab: cu' notis margin Dris, Browne.
- \*Matthioli Comentatores sur Diascoridema Lyons 1579.  
Historia Jndiæ Orientali & occiden' p de Bry vol. 7. ffrancfurt.
- Piso & Margrave Histor' Brasiliæ Lugduni Batav. 1648.
- Diaphanti Alexandrini Arithmet Lutet Paris 1621.
- Theophrastus Bodei a Stapel Amstelodami 1644.
- \*Hevelij Selenographia Gedani 1647.
- \*Galego de la Serna methodus medendi Parisijs 1639.  
— Opera Physico-med: Lugduni 1634.
- Bauderoni Pharmacopea London 1639.
- Cluverij vol. 3. Lugduni Batav.
- Causaboni animadversiones deipnosophist Lugduni 1621.
- Hernandez Histor' Plantaru' animal &c Mexicanon' Romæ 1651.
- \*Barleus de Mauritiij gestis in Brasilia Amstelodami 1648.
- \*Aquapendente opa Anatomica Patavij 1625.
- \*Roma subterranea vol. 2. 1651.
- Aristotelis Historia Animal Scaligero interprete Tolosæ 1619.
- Eusebij Nurembergij Historia nature Antwerp 1635.
- Spigelij Anotome vol. 2 venetijs 1627.
- \*Placentinus de vocis auditusq; organis fffrariae 1600.
- \*Courtin Lecons' Anatomiques et Chirurgicales a Paris 1612.
- \*Zuingerus in Galenu' de constitucone artis medici Basil 1561.
- \*Picolhomini Anatom Preleccōnes Romæ 1586.
- \*Epicuri Philosophia p Gassendu' Lugduni 1644.
- \*Kircheri magnes Romæ 1654.
- \*Maignan perspectiva horaria Romæ 1648.
- Thuani historia sui temporis vol. 4.
- Comentatores in Aristotelem vol. 9. fo:  
{ in 4<sup>to</sup>. j in Turky letter given by Sr. Richd Napier.
- Romæ Splendor Romæ 1612. fo. oblongo.
- \*Martianus in Hippocratem venetijs 1652.
- \*Parkinsons Theatru' Botan. London 1640.
- Gerrard p Johnson London 1633.
- \*Nasij Speculu' methodi medendi Brixiae 1623.
- Claudini Empirica rationalis Bononiae 1653.
- Silvij opa medica Genevæ 1635.
- Aristotelis vol. 3. Lat' venetijs apud Juntas ex domo Dris. ffox.
- Platonis p Serranu' vol. 3 p Henr' Stephanm.
- Picus Mirandola oper' tomus 2<sup>dus</sup>. Basil 1573.

Gaspar a Reis jucundus Eliſ. Campus Bruxellæ 1661.  
Bullialdi Astronomia Philolaici Parisijs 1645.  
Merindoli ars medica 1638.  
\*Nancelij analogia Microcosmi Latt' Paris 1671.  
Johnston de Animalibus vol. 4.  
\*Aldrovandus fol. 4 Bononiae.  
\*Hortus Eystetensis Besleri without descriptions.

Merrett adds a list of other things saved: a vellum book for the inscription of benefactors to the library, a case of surgical instruments given by Dr. Prujean Jr., Dr. Fox's picture (which has since disappeared), the charters of the college, a Persian carpet given by Dr. Harvey, his picture and a table setting down the uses of his 'donation', and a balloting box and mace.

The identification of the pre-fire books still in the library of the college presents considerable interest and problems aplenty. To begin with, there are some insufficiencies in Merrett's list: 'Comentatores in Aristotelem vol. 9. fo:' is hopelessly vague; 'Aldrovandrus fol. 4 Bononiae' is little help when confronted with several editions; and 'Historia Lugdunensis Lugduni 1586. vol. 2.', and 'Gaspar a Reis jucundus Eliſ. Campus Bruxellæ 1661' have so far escaped me. There are also later accessions to be reckoned with, notably the bequest of the Marquess of Dorchester, who died in 1680 and whose books were accommodated in a new library in 1687. With these came a catalogue which had been made in 1664, but since it does not specify editions and sometimes omits either the exact title or the name of the author, it is not very helpful. Another means of identification is the Dorchester crest stamped upon the covers, but here we are confronted with further difficulties. Small books (octavos and duodecimos) do not seem to have been stamped, many books have been rebound, and the Dorchester crest is also to be found on a considerable number of admittedly pre-fire books. This would seem to be explained by the fact,

already mentioned, that in 1655 the marquess gave the college £100 to buy books, and his crest may have been used by the college to designate the books so purchased, as other gifts of the period have the name of the donor stamped on them. Also it is at least possible that Dorchester gave some of his own books to the college before the fire.

The librarians of the college have long been occupied with the identification of the pre-fire and Dorchester books, and there is in the library a copy of the 1912 catalogue in which they have been marked. As a guide to the pre-fire books they have used a list preserved in a manuscript volume labelled *Goodall on College Affairs*. In this have been transcribed a number of documents bearing on the history of the college, among them a memorandum headed 'A Note of such books &c. 'as were preserved from the fire & belonging to the college 'of Physicians London delivered to the President 8<sup>ber</sup> 22<sup>th</sup> 1667 'by Dr Merret'. As proof of identity they have relied on Merrett's press-marks, which were small labels, a little over half an inch square, bearing the corresponding shelf number with the 1660 catalogue. In the list preserved by Dr. Goodall the titles are very imperfectly given and the editions are not indicated. These omissions would suggest that it was hastily jotted down, and some such hypothesis seems necessary to account for the discrepancies between it and the Chancery list printed above. It may, indeed, include some of Merrett's own books; in any case it omits twenty-four titles given in the Chancery list. It therefore seems best to disregard Goodall's record, and confine our attention to the list made and sworn to by Merrett at a time when he knew he would be responsible for producing the books.

The Chancery list gives ninety-five titles, including ten manuscripts. Two of the eighty-five printed books I have failed to identify in the modern catalogue; of the rest, thirty-five have not been adjudged pre-fire by the college, and these

I have marked in the list by an asterisk. I have discovered Merrett's press-mark in five of them: 'Pharmacopæa Augustana', Taber[nae]montanus, Sextus Empiricus, 'Matthioli Comentatores sur Diascoridema', and one volume (Liber IV) of 'Gesner de Animalibus'. It must be noted, however, that Merrett seems never to have marked more than one volume of a work, and I think I may fairly claim that the three volumes of Gesner which are bound alike all belonged to the pre-fire library. We are thus left with thirty books on which to theorize. The occurrence of the same book (in the same edition, of course) in the 1660 catalogue and the Chancery list plus the presence of a single copy in the library to-day would create a strong supposition that it was pre-fire. But unfortunately no less than twenty-five of them can also be identified with entries in the Dorchester Catalogue, and to this mystery I confess I have found no solution. All thirty should certainly be submitted to a far more scientific examination than I have been able to give them. The magic press-mark is, of course, missing in every case, but many of them have been rebound or rebacked with new end-papers, and although the college has for many years instructed its binders to watch for the old marks, it is not impossible that some of them have been obliterated. It would seem fairly reasonable to claim the five not assigned to the Dorchester collection as pre-fire. They are: 'Pauli Zacchæi Questiones medico-legales', Suidas, 'Camerarij Kreuter buch', 'Aquapendente opa Anatomica', and 'Placentinus de vocis auditusq[ue] organis'. All of these, incidentally, are in the Goodall list with the exception of the Aquapendente, which has the Dorchester crest.

The present Harveian Librarian, Dr. Arnold Chaplin, tells me that he believes a considerable number of books were lost some hundred years ago, when the college moved from the building in Warwick Lane which was designed by Wren and erected in 1670 to its present site in Trafalgar Square. Owing

to building delays, the books were stored for several years, and there is some doubt of their safety during that time. In the face of all the difficulties it would be too optimistic to predict that all the pre-fire books may eventually be identified, but the publication of the Chancery list is here offered as one step in that direction, in the hope that others who are interested in the college may be able to go further.

## THE REVELS BOOKS OF 1604-5, AND 1611-12

By T. W. BALDWIN



THE method of establishing the genuineness of the greater part, if not the whole, of the revels books for 1604-5, and 1611-12, has not yet been applied, probably because the genuineness of those portions had not till the present been seriously attacked. But now Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, in *Shakspere Forgeries*, tests these books by the new 'science of bibliotics', and concludes that with exception of one small item in the book of 1604-5, and four in that of 1611-12, these books are throughout forgeries by Collier, with possible aid from Cunningham. Since reasonably well-grounded suspicion has hitherto attached to the play-lists only, not to the accounts proper, this is the most sweeping and unqualified condemnation these disputed books have ever received. And yet these very five items which Dr. Tannenbaum accepts as genuine happen to furnish the most conclusive proof that these accounts are in bulk the true originals.

Wood has shown that the paper of these books is genuine paper of the period. Since the five admittedly genuine items contain Revels information for the proper years, it is necessary to conclude that part of the paper in each book actually belonged originally to the true accounts for that year. A brief description of the checking and recording machinery through which such accounts had to pass will show the significance of the five admittedly genuine items. It was the business of the Clerk of the Revels to keep these accounts, and to submit them

in proper form to the Auditors of the Imprest. The Clerk made two copies of his book of accounts for the auditors.<sup>1</sup> In one instance both of these survive, though only one has been officially audited.<sup>2</sup> These books all the officers of the Revels would sign. On a test case, that point was settled by the auditor in 1581.<sup>3</sup> It was also part of the regular formula throughout the different stages of the accounts that these officers had so signed the ledger book.<sup>4</sup> The two copies of the book of accounts, presumably accompanied with the vouchers, &c., to substantiate the items, would then be turned over to the two Auditors of the Imprest.

A contemporary official describes the chief stages of the auditing up to the engrossing of the account in official form. 'The issue of money in prest was certified by *constat* from the 'Clerk of the Pells out of the Issue Roll or Pell of Issue. After 'this "the Auditor proceeded with the Accompt, which 'beinge finished it was declared before the Lord Treasurer and 'Barons of the Exchequer or some of them".'<sup>5</sup> Only one separate Imprest Certificate for the Revels has been located, that for 1577-8.<sup>6</sup> But a similar Imprest Certificate, or a copy of it, follows the title and description in the Original Accounts themselves of 1572-3.<sup>7</sup> Again, in the suspected accounts of 1604-5, a similar Imprest Certificate, or a copy of it, genuine or forged, appears on page two of the accounts themselves, directly below the title and description. So far as form is

<sup>1</sup> Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, tables following pp. 344, 360; also pp. 124, 125, 126, 374, 396.

<sup>5</sup> *English Historical Review*, vol. xxxi, p. 51; cf. S. R. Scargill-Bird, *A Guide to the Public Records* (1908), pp. 90-1.

<sup>6</sup> Feuillerat, *Revels* (Elizabeth), p. 280; cf. the surviving records of these imprests, pp. 420-1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152; cf. p. 457.

concerned, this last certificate is regular.<sup>1</sup> The surviving Declared Accounts also show that the auditors checked both the balance of the preceding year, and the imprests of the current year, as is done for these officials in the surviving certificates.<sup>2</sup> The several surviving Original Accounts bear the notations of the auditors, as these officers checked them through. When the Original Account had been audited, the Master of the Revels had to swear to it. For 'Both the ancient custome of this Court [Exchequer], and the common lawes of this Kingdome doe require that all accounts shall be made upon oath and declared before some judicall officers thereunto appointed'.<sup>3</sup> The Master would thus take oath before a baron of the exchequer that his audited account was true. His account would then be engrossed by the auditors, and passed on through the ponderous machinery of the time; but we need trace it no further, since our books go only to the engrossing stage.

Now the book of 1611-12 shows each of these stages up to the engrossing, and no one denies that the crucial items in each stage are genuine. These admittedly genuine items are four.<sup>4</sup> On the present front cover of the accounts for 1611-12, page one, the auditor docketed the date of the account, 'A° x<sup>mo</sup> Ris

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Tannenbaum (*Forgeries*, p. 70) finds the unique, and therefore supposedly suspicious abbreviation 'Saij' in the side-note to this certificate. I read the regular form 'Sccij' (see facsimile, *Forgeries*, p. 83; and cf. A. Feuillerat, *Revels* (Elizabeth), pp. 152, 280). Nor can I find anything 'inexplicable' about either these two paragraphs or the financial dealings they record. They record that the balance for the preceding year had been paid, and £100 advanced for the current year. The items of expense for the current year are correctly summed as £175 5s. 2d. leaving a balance of £75 5s. 2d. owing to Tyllney on this his last account, as is duly set forth.

<sup>2</sup> Feuillerat, *Revels* (Elizabeth), tables following pp. 344, 360.

<sup>3</sup> *English Historical Review*, vol. xxxi, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> I use Dr. Tannenbaum's transcriptions.

Jacobi', the tenth year of King James; that is, the account for the year ending 31 October 1612. This was the necessary and proper place for such a notation.<sup>1</sup> On the back of the front cover, page two, towards the bottom, below the present title and description, some one wrote 'Receivede oute of his ma<sup>tis</sup>

Receipte at westm' by privie Seale—CCiiij<sup>xx</sup> xij<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>. This was the auditor's check on the balance for the preceding year, which had thus been paid in full. Since this payment was after and upon the last auditing, it had to be first checked. With this settled, the auditor checked the accounts for the current year, and at first wrote at the end of them, on page seven, which is the recto of the second half of the cover sheet, the total 'CClxxix<sup>li</sup> xix<sup>s</sup> ;' that is, £279 19s. ; but this sum

he crossed out, substituting 'CCiiij<sup>li</sup> viij<sup>s</sup> ;' that is, £280 7s. Since this final sum is written in the hand of the auditor, it is the genuine sum of the accounts. If the privy seal of 30 December 1612 is for an even £60 less, as Dr. Tannenbaum claims,<sup>2</sup> that fact must be explained in some other way than by forgery in the accounts. One suspects that 'iiij' has been read as twenty, instead of eighty. The auditor's total is certainly within a few shillings of being correct, though the minor inaccuracies of Cunningham's transcription<sup>3</sup> make it impossible to check accurately without recourse to the original. If the present condition of the accounts shows why the auditor at first obtained a slightly different total, that fact would also be a strong argument that the financial details of the accounts were originally the same as now.

The fourth admittedly genuine item is at the end of the accounts, at the very bottom of page seven. 'Pred' [Predic-

<sup>1</sup> Feuillerat, *Revels* (Elizabeth), pp. 335, 363, 387, 468.

<sup>2</sup> Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the omitted item of 12s. (Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 100).

'tus] Georgius Buc miles prestit sacrum xv<sup>j</sup><sup>to</sup> Die Novembr.  
'1612 Anno D[ecimo] R[is] Jacobi.' This is signed 'Jo: Sotherton:/;/'. This item means that John Sotherton, Baron of the Exchequer, takes the oath of Sir George Buc on 16 November 1612, that these accounts are true. Dr. Tannenbaum admits that the notation is genuine, but claims that the signature is forged. The necessary government routine makes it clear that if this sheet belonged to the original accounts, and if the notations are genuine, then certainly the signature of some judicial officer was attached to this final notation. The book could not pass without it. The only alternative would be to suppose that at the last minute the judicial officer did not sign this copy of the accounts, but substituted the other, thus leaving this one ready to the unscrupulous hands of Collier and Cunningham.

But not even this supposition would save Dr. Tannenbaum's theory. For, according to him, this whole outer sheet of four pages was, before the forgery, blank except for these four genuine notations. How could an auditor have been auditing blank paper, and how could a baron of the exchequer be expected to attest the same? If these notations are the only genuine matter, this present outer sheet could not originally have been the cover sheet, since that would necessarily have had upon it, either upon recto or verso, at least the title of the book. We must thus, on this theory, assume that the auditor used a detached blank sheet. Why should the auditor have folded a detached sheet, entered only the date on the first page, then near the bottom of the second page the payment for the preceding year, then on the recto of the next page toward the bottom the sum of the accounts? And about two and a half inches below that, at the very bottom of the page, why should a baron of the exchequer make notation that Sir George Buc had sworn that these accounts were true? The place for all these official notations was upon the pages of the accounts

themselves. They are located upon the present pages exactly as they should have been on pages already occupied by accounts. It is simply impossible that a genuine auditor and baron should so have arranged their jottings on a folded, detached sheet otherwise blank. The 'science of bibliotics' to the contrary notwithstanding, there were genuine items of the revels accounts on this outer sheet of four pages when the auditor and baron put their notations there, on or before 16 November 1612. There must, then, be one other genuine hand in these four pages. If Dr. Tannenbaum were correct in his contention that there is but one hand besides the auditor's, with possible retouchings by another, then it would follow that this second hand is genuine; and hence that the whole book is genuine. But Dr. Tannenbaum cannot be correct, since, if the book is genuine, then there are certainly several hands represented in the signatures.

If either the auditor's notations or the baron's attestation is genuine, the signatures of the officers are genuine. The auditor could not audit unsigned accounts, the required place of signing being at the end of the accounts themselves. Since the auditor's genuine notation of the total is just above the present signatures, the signatures are evidently at the end of the original accounts, and so must be genuine. Nor would the baron have attested the accounts till they had been properly signed. His attestation would follow the signatures; hence there must originally have been genuine signatures where signatures now appear. If, then, these four notations are admitted to be genuine, the whole four pages of the outer sheet must be essentially genuine, and so several hands must be represented in them.

Cunningham recognized the true character of these notations, and omitted them, causing Dr. Tannenbaum to bring a serious charge against him. 'That he had guilty knowledge 'of the fraudulent character of the documents is proved by his

‘deliberate omission of certain paragraphs from the transcript published in his *Extracts*.’<sup>1</sup> The other omissions are also chiefly and almost entirely these items added in the process of auditing the accounts, though some of these added items Dr. Tannenbaum does not consider to be in the hand of his ‘Engraving Clerk’. The plausible reason for these omissions is that Cunningham aimed to reproduce the original accounts. Himself a clerk in the audit office, Cunningham would know that these items were additions, belonging to the audit office, and not to the revels office.

One is justified therefore in believing that Cunningham omitted these financial notations of the auditors for much the same reason that Feuillerat omitted most of them. ‘For typographical reasons, I have omitted the “probantur’s”, “examinatur’s” and other notes with which the Auditors have sometimes lavishly covered the pages of the originals. But whenever such annotations have the smallest tittle of interest they have been recorded in the notes.’<sup>2</sup> Surely Cunningham, especially considering the early date of his work, is entitled to the somewhat greater latitude he took in dealing with similar notes. At least, the omissions neither necessarily nor probably show guilty knowledge on Cunningham’s part.

It is highly improbable, however, that even the four undisputedly genuine items of the 1611-12 accounts are all in the same hand. Presumably the baron’s attestation is in his own hand. Of the other three items, the notation of the balance for the preceding year would probably be certified by a clerk in another department. The other two items, by their nature, belong to the auditor. Likewise, the attestation to the account of 1604-5, which Dr. Tannenbaum thinks is in the same hand, presumably belongs to Sir Thomas Fleming, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, whose signature is appended. Nor is it likely

<sup>1</sup> Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Feuillerat, *Revels (Elizabeth)*, p. xii.

that this hand of the auditor is the same as that which wrote the official note of 5 January 1598, as Dr. Tannenbaum thinks.<sup>1</sup> This note is signed by John Sotherton and John Conyers. Feuillerat says that the note as a whole is in the handwriting of these auditors. Surely it is clear that the body of this note is in the hand of Sotherton. This John Sotherton, however, is not the John Sotherton whose signature is supposed to appear in the accounts of 1611-12, but his father. John Sotherton, Senior, became Baron of the Exchequer 6 June 1579, and died 26 October 1605. John Sotherton, Junior, his son, became Baron of the Exchequer 29 October 1610.<sup>2</sup> If the note of 5 January 1598 is in the hand of John Sotherton, Senior, then no item from it occurs in the accounts of 1604-5, or of 1610-11, for that hand was then already dust.

Whether Dr. Tannenbaum thinks this note is in Sotherton's hand does not uncontestedly appear. He does, however, think that father and son are the same person. Nor is it possible to say from his indefinite reference whether the signature he gives as a genuine signature of John Sotherton belongs to the father or to the son, though from its characteristics it presumably belongs to the latter.

If, then, we continue to accept the four audit items of the 1611-12 accounts as genuine, we must also accept at least the four outer pages as essentially, and probably entirely, genuine. It is admitted that page one is wholly genuine, the only writing on it being the date. On page two, the notation of balance is admitted to be genuine. Since this is written at the bottom of the page, the remainder of the page must have been already filled when the notation was made. The item which filled it must have been the customary title and description, which

<sup>1</sup> Feuillerat, *Revels* (Elizabeth), pp. 418, 475; facsimile in Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. B., Sotherton, John.

now appears there. Something was in the place where the title and description ought to be, and now is. Since no sign of erasure is alleged, the title and description must have been in place when the admittedly genuine notation was made at the foot of the page. Dr. Tannenbaum, indeed, thinks the present title impossible. He points out that the scribe 'left a space for the regnal year—an inconceivable omission with a real clerk, and almost impossible for William Honyng—' which was subsequently inserted in different ink and, the 'space being too limited, in a smaller hand'.<sup>1</sup> This inconceivable impossibility occurs in genuine accounts;<sup>2</sup> and so, if it signifies anything, it signifies genuineness, certainly not forgery.

For the second half of the sheet, the auditor's notation of the total and the baron's attestation, on page seven, are admitted to be genuine, necessitating, as has been shown, the acceptance of the signatures, thus proving the lower three inches or so genuine. But all of this matter had to appear at the end of the accounts; that is, the remaining upper section of the page must have been filled with accounts, when the lower three inches or so of material were added. Since no erasure is alleged, this matter must then have been essentially as it is now. Page eight is blank, and admitted genuine. Thus pages one, two, seven, and eight must be essentially genuine.

But if the outer four pages are essentially genuine, then most, if not all, of Dr. Tannenbaum's objections against the inner four pages are destroyed. The auditor's genuine total on page seven, at the end of the accounts, goes far to prove that at least the items of the accounts, which occupy the preceding three pages, are genuine. What motive could a forger have for faking these anyway? Presumably Dr. Tannenbaum would say that Collier was simply copying these from the genuine accounts,

<sup>1</sup> Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 19; cf. facsimile, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Feuillerat, *Revels* (Elizabeth), pp. 349, 468; cf. p. 365, &c.

which he admits Collier had to work from, Collier's real objective being the play-list on page three. Whatever the explanation, the items themselves on pages four, five, and six are pretty certainly genuine, though relatively unimportant withal. The most important items on page three are also admittedly genuine. Malone refers to the accounts of Sir George Buc as authority for saying that *The Silver Age* was performed in January 1612.<sup>1</sup> He thus saw the accounts of 1611-12, to which our present outer four pages belonged. This entry shows too that in the inner pages of the original accounts there was a play-list. It is also reasonably certain that the play-list was then where the play-list now appears. For the accounts end on page seven. The total of the items in the accounts is genuine, being in the auditor's hand. The bulk of the items themselves must be genuine, since they are mostly the standardized items, yearly recurrent. Their present bulk requires three pages preceding page seven. Their original bulk could not have been enough greater to require a whole extra sheet of four pages more. Thus the original accounts must have consisted of two sheets, eight pages, as now; and the play-list consulted by Malone must have been on page three as now. As was said above, Malone found *The Silver Age* recorded there as acted in January 1612. He also found an entry there which caused him to say that *The Tempest* was in existence the autumn of 1611,<sup>2</sup> though he does not specifically refer to the accounts in this connexion. These facts seem clearly to show, then, that the true accounts contained only the one inner sheet of four pages as do the present accounts, that the play-list and accounts were arranged on its pages as now, and that the really important items on these pages were essentially the same originally as now. The wonder grows as to what motive a forger could have had for copying the original sheet, since he has not materially

<sup>1</sup> Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Malone, *Variorum*, XV, 423.

altered the really important items, which concern the date of *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*. For present evidence makes it certain that *The Winter's Tale* was put on in the first half of 1611, and hence was pretty certainly also in this list of court performances for 1611-12. If there has been any forgery on this inner sheet of four pages, it does not have much bearing on dramatic history.

Thus there are no serious objections to the essential genuineness of the items on this inner sheet of four pages. The objections to the genuineness of the writing itself mostly fail also. Since typical instances of nearly all the characteristics which Dr. Tannenbaum alleges in proof of forgery occur in items on the genuine outer four pages, and in such a way that they cannot be insertions, it follows that these characteristics are no indication of forgery. Dr. Tannenbaum finds the same characteristics on page two to prove that the matter was 'originally 'written out in faint lines and was subsequently painted or 'written over with a darker fluid',<sup>1</sup> as he finds in 'innumerable letters on the other pages'. His basic postulate is therefore false. An instance of the forger's bungling one word for another because of his inability to follow these first faint lines is alleged on page seven.<sup>2</sup> The objections which Dr. Tannenbaum levels at the genuine signatures on page seven are exactly of the same nature as those by which he attempts to prove complete forgery in these signatures and nearly all the remainder of the book. In one of these genuine signatures, he finds characteristics of Collier's hand,<sup>3</sup> just as he does throughout the accounts. Since these characteristics appear in the genuine items of the outer four pages, their occurrence also on the inner four pages certainly does not indicate forgery in these, but rather genuineness.

It is hardly necessary to present a similar analysis of the

<sup>1</sup> Tannenbaum, *Forgeries*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

accounts for 1604-5,<sup>1</sup> since they yield similar results. Nor, if these general principles are true, is it necessary to go into further detail. After careful examination, the present writer feels that Dr. Tannenbaum has not in any particular proved his claim that the accounts of 1604-5, and 1611-12 are forgeries. Since the most important items are known to be correct in their essential information anyway, the question of forgery is not, after all, of overwhelming importance. Surely only the play-lists could possibly be attacked as even essentially forgeries. No one has ever known enough to be able to forge the remainder of the accounts,—except by slight alteration of genuine originals, or copying of such—not even Sir Edmund Chambers, to whose encyclopedic collection of knowledge that of no previous historian of the stage can even be compared.

<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that the Declared Account for 1604-5 still survives (*Times Literary Supplement*, 21 March 1929, p. 241), a detailed analysis of the revels book for that season would probably be even more conclusive than that here presented of the book for 1611-12.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### *The Early Editions of Thomas Dekker's The Converted Courtezan or The Honest Whore, Part I.*

The fragment mentioned by Mr. Matthew Baird (Malone 219, p. 52 *ante*) is not 'the only extant copy'. A copy is now in the United States, and the following note accompanies the book :

with bookplates of F. Locker(-Lampson) and Robert J. Collier and contemporary autograph of Will. Jeruis on first leaf.

Wants title and five leaves at end, some catchwords cut into. A comparison with the *Honest Whore* of 1604 shows that the type has been reset, but very closely copied, and also that the running title which changes to italics on C.1 also changes in the *Curtezan*. The only other fragment of *The Converted Curtezan* is in the Bodleian and wants the title and ends K.2. Hazlitt states that the unique Dyce copy of 1605 is made up with some sheets headed with this title. Fleay, *Eng. Drama*, i. 131, states that this is the last of the wife taming series which included *The Taming of the Shrew*. In Scene I is a parody on *Richard III* and a much more important allusion to *Othello*. *The Comedy of Errors* is mentioned. Jaggard, p. 74.

The Dyce copy of 1605 is Heber ii, 1692, 12 June 1834. Heber notes that the running title on sheet E is in a different type. The copy now in the United States was sold 10 December 1913 (Library of an American Amateur).

Despite the evidence adduced by Mr. Baird, I lean to the view that the copy lacking title is the earlier, and that there is a reason, apart from the Editor's intervention, for a change in title. A title was changed and every known edition *with a title-page* bears 'The Honest Whore'.

FRANK MARCHAM.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*Bibliotheca Osleriana : a catalogue of books illustrating the history of medicine and science, collected, arranged, and annotated by Sir William Osler, Bt., and bequeathed to McGill University.* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1929. pp. xxxvi, 786. Price £3 3s.

THERE is only one way in which this great catalogue can be rightly appreciated and that is to wait for a wet day when the reader is at leisure, to begin at the beginning as soon as possible after breakfast and to read on, page by page, with such licence to take in titles at a glance as in reading catalogues is permitted, until at some hour before bedtime the end is reached. Sampling it for interesting entries deprives it of all its massive effect, and to try to obtain the effect by the short cut of the table of contents strips it of its richness. In a letter which I wrote to the Osler Club a year or more ago, and from which the editors have done me the honour to quote, I said that I thought Sir William Osler 'really saw the projected catalogue of his library as a kind of pageant', and that it would be hard to realize this in print. There is a pageant in this catalogue and a majestic one, but the bulk of the books entered do not form part of it : they are assembled in its honour. The reader must imagine that he is at an Encaenia, a conferment of honorary degrees by a great University. If he likes he may imagine himself presiding at it, with Osler as Public Orator. All round the room the seats are filled with great blocks of spectators sitting in the alphabetical order of their names. There is one great block of men (there are very few women in this show) who have worked well in medicine and science without reaching the highest excellence ; stretching round the room away from these are four smaller blocks: (i) of medical men who have made their mark in general literature and, mixed with them, a few non-professional authors who have written about medicine or its practitioners;

(ii) historians of medicine and science; (iii) biographers of the heroes of these subjects; (iv) bibliographers of their works. As the circle nearly completes itself there is a decorative crowd, over five hundred strong, in the rich costumes of the fifteenth century; further round still, a small and motley group of penmen. All these are stationary, placed by their names, without regard to age or degree of dignity. But, while these are seated, up the hall are marching the great men in science and medicine, whose works form Osler's 'Bibliotheca Prima', in which the order advances with the centuries. Lucretius chanting his *De rerum natura* heralds them. There is an advance guard of the 'old civilizations'—Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, the Eastern Mediterranean, Israel, India, China; then come the splendid Greeks, the pre-Socratics, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, the Alexandrians; then the Greco-Romans, followed by Dioscorides and Galen. Three Arabian physicians walk abreast, Rhazes, Avicenna, Averroes, followed by Roger Bacon, the one Christian scientific mind of the Middle Ages. Lastly come the great men of four centuries, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, decreasingly picturesque in costume and speech, increasingly marvellous in their achievements. It is a fine pageant and each man is carrying the right book, or books, under his arm and most of them are followed by a retinue, varying in size, of faithful commentators. Osler, alas, who should have accompanied the procession with a steady flow of comments, did not live to provide these with any consistency. He is often silent, but he speaks effectively on Copernicus *De revolutionibus orbium celestium* (1543), the *De Humani Corporis fabrica* published by Vesalius in the same year, and Harvey's *De Motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus* of 1628. His sense of the greatness of these he showed very characteristically. Of the Vesalius he gave away six copies; of the *De motu cordis*, three. Celsus *de Medicina* (1478) is another book of which he could never resist buying any available copy and passing it on.

As to who should march in the great procession, and who must be content with an honourable seat, he seems to have had few doubts, but he confesses to hesitation as to whether he ought to rank Averroes with his prime heroes and gives his three reasons for doing so ; as to Conrad Gesner he makes no confession in print, but is reported to have remarked as he looked at his card-catalogue, ' I am not sure that this fellow should go into Prima, but I love him so much that I must put him there. Besides, he is the father of Bibliography.' The title of the work (published by Froschouer at Zurich in 1545) by which at the age of twenty-nine Gesner achieved fame and gave incalculable help to scholars in every country, reads :

Bibliotheca Vniuersalis, siue Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, Latina, Graeca, & Hebraica : extantium & non extantium, veterum & recentiorum, in hunc usque diem, doctorum & indoctorum, publicatorum & in Bibliothecis latentium, Opus nouum, & non Bibliothecis tantum publicis priuatisue instituendis necessarium, sed studiosis omnibus cuiuscunq; artis aut scientiae ad studia melius formanda utilissimum.

There are trumpet-notes here and they are not out of place. Indeed if the man who tells the pioneers what their fellows have done or are doing can ever be ranked with the pioneers themselves Gesner has a right to his First Class. But it is a big 'if', and the title-page does not tell us why Osler loved him. The quotation as to Gesner which he wrote in the book (from Henry Morley's life of Girolamo Cardano) lets us into the secret :

He was faultless in private life, assiduous in study, diligent in maintaining correspondence and goodwill with learned men in all countries, hospitable—though his means were small—to every scholar that came into Zurich. Prompt to serve all, he became the editor of other men's volumes, a writer of prefaces for friends, a suggester to young writers of books on which they might engage themselves, and a great helper to them in the progress of their work. But still, while finding time for services to other men, he could produce as much out of his own study as though he had no part in the life beyond its walls.

Here indeed is a man whom Osler may well have taken as a model, and their kinship is further shown in that what Gesner tried to do by enumeration Osler attempted by selection. He brought together in his house at Oxford the best editions he could procure of the books of the men who, in his judgement, had done most for science and medicine and added to them enough of the smaller stuff of their day and of commentaries and histories to provide them with a fit setting. He added also many books mainly because they had been his own tools, and the works of his friends slipped in out of affection. This catalogue illustrates the life and interests of William Osler as well as the pageant of science and medicine, and if this brings it in part into the category of 'period' literature the interest of which often diminishes as time goes on it may well be believed, as well as hoped, that the charm of Osler's personality will make itself felt through many generations and give interest to entries which in another catalogue might be dismissed as obsolete. It is a live catalogue to-day, and I think it will always be a live catalogue.

As I read the book I marked over half a hundred entries for comment, and it would be easy to gather plums from Osler's *Introduction, on the Collecting of a Library*, from his descriptions of days spent in the auction room at London and Paris, and the notes about individual books, and how they were obtained (Osler was a keen collector as well as an omnivorous one, and did not hesitate to cable, or even to travel, to get what he wanted), how he wrote his own great text-book on the practice of medicine, and what he thought of the delineation of the doctors whom he met in modern novels. But these are the rewards proper for those who read the book from cover to cover on a rainy day, and I will leave them to be found where they come. I offer my congratulations to the three compilers of the Catalogue, Dr. W. W. Francis, now the librarian of the Osler Library at McGill, Mr. R. H. Hill of the Bodleian, and

Dr. Archibald Malloch, librarian of the New York Academy of Medicine. They were entrusted with a labour of love and they have done it well, and the same may be said of the printers, for Osler was loved as much at the University Press as anywhere in Oxford. For one thing both compilers and printers deserve sympathy—that they did not have the joy of presenting the finished catalogue to Lady Osler. So largely did she inspire their work that in a dedication to her memory it is justly described as 'her last task' the accomplishment of which through their agency was due to 'her courage, patience and devotion'.

A. W. P.

*Bibliographia Aberdonensis : being an account of books relating to or printed in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine, or written by natives or residents, or by officers, graduates, or alumni of the Universities of Aberdeen.* By JAMES FOWLER KELLAS JOHNSTONE, LL.D., and ALEXANDER WEBSTER ROBERTSON. 1472-1640. Aberdeen, printed for the Third Spalding Club. 1929. pp. xii, 316.

IN 1887 the New Spalding Club approved a report which intimated that 'a bibliography of the district within the view of the Club' was in contemplation, and would be undertaken by the librarian of the Aberdeen Public Library, Mr. A. W. Robertson. In 1893, when a Handlist was issued to elicit further information, the hope was expressed that the work would be finished in two years. As this hope was not realized, at Mr. Robertson's request our late member Dr. J. F. Kellas Johnstone was associated with him as co-editor, Mr. Robertson working mainly on the period 1750-1900 and Dr. Johnstone at first on the earlier years, though on Mr. Robertson's death in 1911 he took charge of the whole enterprise. In June 1928 the Third Spalding Club, three months after it came into existence and only three months before the death of the veteran editor, agreed that its secretary Dr. W. Douglas Simpson should relieve him of the burden of seeing it through the press, and this handsome and closely printed first volume, covering the period

1472-1640, has been produced with admirable promptitude. Its arrangement, on which much of its interest depends, is quite rightly chronological, with the result that the stalwart reader of it can watch year by year the fortunes and doings of the scholarly North-Eastern Scot at home and abroad. Since there are the same reasons as in England for treating the year 1640 as the close of a bibliographical period, it may be regretted that this first instalment has not been equipped with its own index, which would greatly have facilitated its use, more especially as the dates under which entries are made are in not a few cases necessarily conjectural, and the need to turn back from later entries to the earliest (under which biographical details are mostly given) is frequent. It is much to be hoped that whenever an index is produced it will be full and detailed, otherwise as a book of reference the work will lose half its value. If fully indexed that value will be high, as the individual entries are admirably full. Throughout this volume (except in the case of the few books which Dr. Johnstone was unable to see) they give a transcript of the title, with its line divisions, size and measurement, and collation by signatures, pagination, and literary contents, with biographical details, frequent quotation of prefaces, and information as to copies and (very often) their condition. There are also some fifty-six facsimiles printed, alas, on highly glazed paper, and not always pretty to look at, but very useful—as long as they will last. I believe that as a rule all the information thus liberally offered will be found trustworthy, but I feel bound to say that as regards the books ascribed to Alexander Barclay in the text, and still more in a supplement, my old friend Dr. Kellas Johnstone let himself be dominated by theories which gradually became more and more imaginative. It is common ground that Barclay was born in or about 1475 and he may be rightly identified with a 'Dominus Alexander Barclaius, diocesis Aberdonensis', who 'studied 'during two winter sessions at the University of Paris, graduating

'M.A. in 1506'. He is known to have translated Gringore's *Chasteau de labeur*, the third of three translations (those of *L'art de bien vivre et de bien mourir* and *Le Kalendrier des Bergers* being the others) which Vérard produced in Paris, and Pynson and De Worde copied in London in cut-throat competition. But Barclay can hardly, as Dr. Johnstone surmised, have been concerned with all three triplets, and the effort to show that he was has led to a sad theory that he used the name of Robert Copland as a pseudonym, and wrote all the prefaces, &c., which were published as Copland's. The result is that there is much too much Barclay in the early pages of this volume, and that readers who would otherwise accept without demur Dr. Johnstone's identification of Joannes de Sacro Bosco as John Haliebus or Holywood of Dumfriesshire may become sceptical. Dr. Johnstone, however, seems certainly right in his claim that Jacobus Ledelh and Gilbertus de Crab, authors of small philosophical books printed in Paris 1488-95 and 1502-27, were Aberdonians, and these with John Vaus help to diminish the predominance of Barclay. Books printed by Thomas Davidson at Edinburgh are unwisely included on the ground that he was 'ane northland man borne in Scotland upon the waterside of Dee', and lest the district's claim to producing one of the earliest Scottish printers should be overlooked. Johannes Ferrerius, a Piedmontese, comes in because he became a monk of Kinloss; Archibald Hay as a member of the literary family of Dalgety and a cousin of Cardinal Beaton, and John Ramsay and William Keith, who in 1547-8 took part in theological 'flytings' in London, as Mearns men, Keith's name recurring on many later pages. Among Aberdeen scholars who employed Paris printers in the next twenty years are entered Adam Elder, John Dempster, and William Davidson. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, had his vernacular tracts on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots (1571) printed at Liège, and Latin books at Paris, Rome, Rheims, and Rouen. James Cheyne employed

Douai firms ; Hercules Rollock one at Poitiers. Father John Hay was printed at Lyons, Nimes, Freiburg, Rochelle, and Tournon. In 1591 we first meet Duncan Liddell, professor first of mathematics, afterwards of medicine at Helmstadt, and his name occurs in bunches on many pages. Then the running is taken up by Gilbert Jack (Iacchaeus) at Leyden and the notorious Thomas Dempster, who held professorships at Paris, Pisa, and Bologna, and here obtains the list of his works (1607-27) (printed at Edinburgh, Paris, London, Geneva, Florence, and Bologna) which Dr. Henry Bradley, though he wrote five pages of the *D.N.B.* on Dempster's extraordinary career, contemptuously omitted. The last entry under his name is the posthumous *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, 'a numerical list, with biographical and bibliographical notes of 1,925 Scots' increased by gross misnumbering to 3,210. Immediately above this in the catalogue stands the *Emblematum Amatoria* of George Chalmers, printed at Venice, with a plate of Dempster's dead body, surrounded by mourners, and the inscription 'excellētissimo viro & equiti Thomae Dempstro, eruditissimū 'miraculo; concivi, cognato meo, & amicorum principi'. By all accounts Dempster's memory and fluency as a Latin versifier were alike marvellous, though he was not a pleasing specimen of the Scottish wandering scholars of whom the district covered by this bibliography seems to have produced more than its share. Down to almost the close of the volume Latin entries predominate, but in 1638 the Ministers and Professors of Aberdeen came to the fore with their 'Generall demands concerning the late Covenant', and the vernacular gets the upper hand. From 1622 onwards Edward Raban printed there, but though in his first year he produced *The merrie historie of the three friers of Berwicke* by William Dunbar, his vernacular output was mainly of controversial works, one of which, we may note, William Guild's *Popish Gloryng in Antiquity turned to their shame*, 1626, was reissued the next year in London with a

cancel title bearing the imprint of Robert Allot. The interests of the literary north-eastern Scot were clearly academic and theological, and wherever he went he stuck to them pretty steadily.

A. W. P.

*Frühdrucke aus der Bücherei Victor von Klemperer.* Dresden [printed for private circulation], 1927. pp. 462, 103 plates, 17×13 in.

THIS beautiful volume occupies a position of unusual interest among catalogues of incunabula. Herr Direktor von Klemperer, of Dresden, who has been collecting the books described in it during more than thirty years, has been able to secure no less an authority than Dr. Konrad Haebler himself first for his adviser in the matter of acquisitions and afterwards for his cataloguer. More than any of its predecessors the catalogue is itself a monument of fine printing, with its heavy paper, its dignified letterpress, and its numerous and mostly excellent full-page facsimiles. And, finally, a copy of it was formally presented to the cataloguer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, during a social gathering at the house of the owner of the books which will remain a pleasant memory to all who took part in it.

The collection itself, like the scheme of its catalogue, runs on lines very similar to that made by General Rush C. Hawkins and now in the Annmary Brown Memorial at Providence, although the emphasis is rather less exclusively on the historical side. Nearly one hundred centres of early printing, however, and upwards of 350 separate presses are represented among its 509 items. Most of these are more or less out of the common run, and many are remarkable for their condition or their binding, while a selection of forty-five notable books from sixteenth-century presses is appended. There is a copy of the *Catholicicon*, and of the 1468 Roman edition of St. Jerome's *Epistles*, even one only slightly imperfect of the *Polychronicon*

printed by De Worde in 1495. In several cases Dr. Haebler is able to note that this is the only known copy, and among these 'Unika' occurs the piece which from the typological point of view is certainly the most remarkable in the collection. This is an indulgence running to twenty-seven lines of text in the Spanish language, issued by Cardinal Borgia, afterwards Pope Alexander VI, in connexion with the schemes of Pope Sixtus IV for a general war of Christendom against the Turks. The Cardinal, who had arrived at Valencia as legate on a special mission in 1472, made a solemn appeal for assistance to an assembly of the Estates at Segovia early in the following year, and the indulgence makes mention of a bull of 5 March 1473 issued apparently as a result of these proceedings. Since Borgia's mission came to an end with his return to Rome in October, the indulgence and the printing thereof presumably date from the intervening summer, and as it may be further presumed to have been printed in the country of issue, it has a very strong claim to rank as the earliest piece of Spanish printing on record, a distinction hitherto attaching to the *Obras o trobes* printed at Valencia at some time not earlier than March 1474. The two gothic types used for it are not at all characteristically Spanish in appearance but show resemblances to early founts at Cologne or Brussels, and Dr. Haebler suggests that the indulgence is the work of Low German craftsmen, possibly done at Segovia itself, which was a mart much frequented by German traders. Both Herr von Klemperer and Dr. Haebler are to be congratulated on this acquisition, for which they were jointly responsible.

Prefixed to the catalogue proper are a note by the collector on the development of his library, an introduction, mainly bibliographical, by the cataloguer, and a disquisition on the exact meaning of the term 'incunabulum' by Dr. E. von Rath, together with a bibliography of Dr. Haebler's writings during the years 1919-27.

V. S.

*Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III.* By PETER ALEXANDER, with an Introduction by A. W. POLLARD. Cambridge University Press, 1929. pp. viii, 229. 8s. 6d.

SHAKESPEARE's biographers, gruelled for matter which can be included in the chapter headed 'Early Years in London', have usually accepted four basic probabilities, which are, (1) that Shakespeare began his career by re-writing or patching the plays of other dramatists; (2) that he was bitterly attacked therefor by Greene in the *Groatsworth of Wit* in the late summer of 1592; (3) that the plays printed in the Folio as 1, 2 and 3 *Henry VI* contain some, but not much, of his early work; (4) that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were founded on old plays known as *The First part of the Contentions betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster* and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*. With these four points Mr. Alexander is primarily concerned in his book.

The first three are closely connected. There were two reasons for supposing that 1, 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were only in part by Shakespeare: first, the unevenness of the style; and, secondly, Greene's words in the *Groatsworth* which seemed to be an accusation of plagiarism. In the famous letter, Greene, addressing three of his fellow dramatists in particular, who are presumably Marlowe, Nashe, and Peele, warns them against the ingratitude of players who have deserted him in his hour of need, and adds the warning against 'an vpstart Crow, 'beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde* supposes he is as well able to bombast out a 'blanke verse as the best of you'. On this passage Malone (cited by Mr. Alexander) argued thus:

'What does the writer mean by calling Shakespeare "a crow beautified with our feathers"? My solution is, that Greene and Peele were the joint authors of the two quarto plays, or that Greene was the author of one and Peele of the other... Greene could not conceal the mortification that he felt at his own fame and that of his associate, both of them old and admired playwrights, being eclipsed by a

new *upstart* writer (for so he calls our great poet), who had then first, perhaps, attracted the notice of the publick by exhibiting two plays, formed upon old dramas written by them, considerably enlarged and improved.'

Mr. Alexander will not accept this explanation.

'Greene', he says, 'did not call Shakespeare an upstart writer, he calls him an "upstart Crow", and this need mean no more than an actor: that this was his meaning is made very probable by the similar phrase he uses of the actor "Roscius"; that Malone's reading of the phrase cannot be right is made certain by the fact that it involves him in an obviously absurd and ungrammatical interpretation of what follows.'

He claims, therefore, following Smart, that the passage far from containing a charge of plagiarism is, in fact, in favour of Shakespeare's authorship of *3 Henry VI*. Mr. Alexander overlooks two important points: the first is the word 'upstart'; the second, noted by Professor Pollard in his introduction, is that R. B. in *Greenes Funeralles* makes a definite charge of plagiarism—

Greene gaue the ground to all that wrote vpon him.

Nay more the men that so eclipt his fame

Purloynde his Plumes, can they deny the same?

If, as is probable, R. B. has in mind the passage in the *Groats-worth*, it shows that Malone has the support of one of Greene's contemporaries. Neither objection is vital, and the passage, for the time being at least, must be withdrawn as a decisive argument for the composite authorship of *3 Henry VI*. Mr. Alexander thus forces us back to unsupported internal evidence, and in his fourth chapter he does his best to upset our faith in such evidence by attacking, not ineffectively, the general methods of Professor Tucker Brooke and Mr. J. M. Robertson.

Mr. Alexander's demonstration of his fourth point occupies the second chapter of the book. He claims by a number of parallels, backed by excellent use of Mr. Crompton Rhodes's edition of Sheridan, who also suffered from pirates, that the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* are 'bad Quartos' and not

old plays which Shakespeare re-wrote. His general conclusion is that

*The Contention* and *Richard Duke of York* are pirated versions of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, put together by two of the leading players in Pembroke's Company, after the failure of their tour in 1593. These actors had in their possession certain manuscripts or portions of them ; and they were no doubt helped in places by some of their fellows ; but what they chiefly relied on was the memory, sometimes the possession, of their own parts, and the recollection of the plays as a whole that remained with them from frequent rehearsals and performances.

This conclusion will, I believe, be accepted, and Mr. Alexander is to be congratulated on a good piece of sustained argument.

In his third and fifth chapters Mr. Alexander considers the early legends about Shakespeare's life in Stratford and the date when he first began to write for the stage. These chapters are far from convincing and may prejudice readers against the rest of the book.

There are two well-known stories about Shakespeare's early life given by Rowe and Aubrey respectively. Rowe says that Shakespeare was chased from Stratford by Sir Thomas Lucy for stealing deer in Charlecot Park, and so became a dramatist by accident ; he also held the theory that Shakespeare was a rude, untutored genius. Aubrey amongst his jottings noted that Shakespeare 'had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the countrey', which information he had 'from Mr. Beeston'.

Mr. Alexander has no opinion of Rowe ; his work on the life of Shakespeare 'is as uncritical as that on the text' ; 'Rowe was not a very industrious and careful inquirer'. One of Rowe's offences is that he recorded this deer-stealing tradition, for, since Sir Thomas Lucy had no deer at Charlecot at the time, he stands convicted of romancing.

To this it may be answered that the deer-stealing story is not so easily disproved. It is not uncommon for two incidents to become merged into one legend ; if Shakespeare had been persecuted by Lucy, and had also at some other time been in

trouble over poaching, it would be quite easy for Lucy's name to be connected with the deer stealing. Aubrey himself gives an excellent example of such a merging in this note : ' He [Ben 'Jonson] killed Mr. . . . Marlow, the poet, on Bunhill, comeing 'from the Green-Curtain play-house.—From Sir Edward Shir-'burn.' Here Jonson's slaying of Spencer (the actor) and Marlowe's death in the tavern brawl at Deptford have become one story.

Aubrey's gleaning from Beeston may be accepted as the most probable of the stories concerning Shakespeare's early manhood, but it does not necessarily knock out the poaching ; even schoolmasters sometimes get themselves into trouble. It is, moreover, a little difficult to take Aubrey so seriously as Mr. Alexander wishes ; ' he has recorded what he was told, and the value of his evidence depends on the witness who gave it '. Aubrey was no such mute table book, as a glance at some of his memoranda will show. Of Shakespeare, for instance, he says, ' This William being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, *I guesse*, about 18 ' . . . ' The humour of . . . 'constable, in *Midsomernight's Dreame* (sic), he happened to 'take at Grendon in Bucks.' . . . 'I *thinke* I have been told 'that he left 2 or 300 *li.* per annum there and thereabout to 'a *sister*.' Or of Jonson : ' Ben Johnson had one eie lower than 't'other, and bigger, like Clun the player : *perhaps he begott* 'Clun.' Can we be sure that he always qualified his ' *guesses*' or that his ' *quaere's*' were not sometimes omitted ?

Nor is Rowe so uncritical as Mr. Alexander would have us imagine. He, or his informant, had made some mild researches in Stratford ; he knew the month of Shakespeare's birth, the Christian name of his father, the maiden name and dwelling of his wife. It is not very much, but enough to show that some one took a little pains to be accurate.

Of more importance, however, than the relative inaccuracy of Rowe and Aubrey is Mr. Alexander's proposal to date two of

Shakespeare's plays far earlier than is usually accepted. On p. 200 he makes this statement :

Although it is not yet possible to offer any precise date for the beginning of the first period, *Titus Andronicus* and *The Comedy of Errors* can be placed at its very commencement and dated some considerable time before 1589.

' Some considerable time before 1589 ', at least, one may take it, before 1588. Now if these plays were written in 1587 (or earlier), then Shakespeare was a dramatist probably before Kyd and Marlowe, and certainly before Greene, who was still sneering at University men turned playwright in 1588. Mr. Alexander even sees the influence of Shakespeare on Marlowe, and not, as is usually held, the imitation of Marlowe by Shakespeare :

In *Edward II* Marlowe forgoes his own high and characteristic excellence in an attempt to capture a new grace for his art. His *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus* show how he could give an individual and his desires a universal interest ; it is no longer the bloodless abstraction of the *Moralities* with which the spectator identifies himself, for Marlowe rediscovered the protagonist of the Greeks . . . etc. But in *Edward II* Marlowe tries to derive dramatic interest from the turns of the story, and to present the clash of human wills in several leading characters. This, however, is Shakespeare's particular province from the start, and from the first he is the clever contriver of the plot of intrigue : *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Taming of the Shrew* are masterpieces of construction, and although this dexterity is not by itself so important in tragedy, it gives his *Titus Andronicus* with its torrent of horrors a smoothness not found in the dramas of Marlowe. . . . Shakespeare had no need to learn from Marlowe that skill in which 2 and 3 *Henry VI* go beyond any of Marlowe's plays ; it was his from the start, so that if there is imitation in this particular it is not on Shakespeare's part.

Herein Mr. Alexander overlooks a dramatist called Kyd who had some skill in the making of a plot ; and, besides, these arguments are based on literary evidence, and he has so shaken our faith in such that he cannot himself be allowed to use it when he wishes to make out a singularly weak case.

When, moreover, Mr. Alexander's last chapter is examined for any evidence which may date *Titus Andronicus* and *The Comedy of Errors*, it all seems to turn on one topical allusion in

*The Comedy of Errors.* Dromio of Syracuse is describing to Antipholus of Syracuse the lady whose name is Nell, and who is 'spherical like a globe: I could find countries in her'. Antipholus asks where the various countries can be found—

'Where France?'

'In her forehead: armed and reverted, making war against her heir.' (III. ii. 126.)

This is an obvious reference to the civil war in France between Henry of Navarre and the Catholic League. Mr. Alexander, following Smart, claims that the passage could only have been written *before* 1589 when Henry III was assassinated and Henry of Navarre became Henry IV of France; and might refer to any period *after* 1584 when he became heir.

To this interpretation there are strong objections. The passage might quite as well be interpreted the other way round; until Henry of Navarre succeeded Henry III, the war was against Henry III, and not against his heir. Nor are Dromio's words to be taken too seriously, as he is making a vile pun on 'heir' and 'hair'. Even so, Henry IV, though recognized by his allies as king of France, did not in fact become so until his coronation at Chartres in February 1594; Dromio's remark would have been as topical in 1593. Mr. Alexander has apparently overlooked the fact that *The Comedy of Errors* was performed at the Gray's Inn revels on the 'night of errors' (28 December 1594); it is unlikely that the Chamberlain's Men would have produced a play at least five years old before such an audience and on such an occasion.

Nor is the evidence for the early date of *Titus Andronicus* any stronger. Henslowe noted that the Lord Strange's Men acted *Titus and Vespasian* on 15th April 1592 as a new play; Sir Edmund Chambers identifies *Titus and Vespasian* as an early version of *Titus Andronicus*. Henslowe also notes *Titus Andronicus* as being performed by Sussex's Men on 24th January 1594, again as a new play.

Now there is a strong general objection to placing Shakespeare's earliest work before 1591 or 1592 in this same debatable letter in the *Groatsworth*; Greene is not only complaining that an actor should write plays, but that an *upstart* crow—a new comer to the playwriting business—should interlope. As I have suggested elsewhere, 'Had Shakespeare been writing for 'several years, or even for two, there would have been no point 'in Greene warning his fellow University dramatists against 'him; nor, in the small world of Elizabethan literary men, could 'Chettle have pleaded that he knew Shakespeare only by hear- 'say' (*Elizabethan Journal*, 1591-1594, p. 389). To argue thus may be to strain the meaning of 'upstart', but the whole significance of the controversy seems to have been that Shakespeare emerged quite suddenly as a dangerous rival to established reputations. Moreover, if Shakespeare had been writing plays in 1587 or 1588, he would have been in the business *before* Greene; and if so, what point would there have been in Greene making such a complaint, in the summer of 1592, of a state of affairs that was at least four and a half years old?

In his introduction Professor Pollard suggests that Shakespeare may have been a member of the Queen's players in his earliest days as an actor. If he was in London so early as 1586 or 1587, the Queen's Men have as good a claim as either Pembroke's or Strange's; that is, there is no evidence, and the chances are even. There is indeed no contemporary evidence, apart from Greene, to show that Shakespeare had any connexion with the theatrical profession before 1592, and no *documentary* evidence that he acted in a play before Christmas 1594. It may be that Rowe is right; that Shakespeare joined a company in a very mean capacity and after some years of subordinate service was suddenly given his opportunity in 1592. It may be that his name is not to be found in any theatrical record before 1592 because he was engaged in some very different occupation elsewhere.

G. B. H.

*The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton.* By W. J. B. CROTCH. London. Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1928 (June 1929). pp. clxiii, 115. 15s.

To have made Caxton's Prologues and Epilogues available in an Early English Text Society edition would of itself be ample ground for gratitude, but Mr. Crotch supplies his readers with more than his modest title-page promises, reprinting the newer documents already made available to readers of *The Library* (4th Series, viii. 426-55) and welding the information these provide with an epitome of Caxton's life-story, as known from Blades's great book, in a very satisfactory Biographical Introduction. To the documents printed in *The Library* he has added a new one, interpolated after the extracts from the account book of the Prior of Westminster Abbey, and itself giving similar extracts from the Sacrist's Rolls, Nos. 19723-43 and Almoner's Rolls 19091-5. As to these extracts Mr. Crotch writes in his Introduction (p. ciii) :

From 1476 to 1481-2 Caxton was renting only the one shop from the Sacrist, but in 1483-4 he paid two shillings and sixpence for an additional one. This latter continued to be allotted to him during subsequent years although he paid nothing for it because he was making no actual use of it. In 1486-7 a third shop appears as allotted to Caxton, this too he did not pay for; but perhaps the most interesting entry of all is for the year 1488-9, when Caxton paid fourpence for a shop rented for one week while Parliament was sitting. What connexion Caxton had with Parliament must be left to conjecture.

In all this Mr. Crotch seems to assume that an entry mentioning no name must be connected with the last entry in which a name occurs. It seems so improbable that a Sacrist who knew his business would have let Caxton off his rent for a tenement 'because he was making no actual use of it', that it may be suggested that Caxton was only responsible for the tenements for which he paid. 'De alia shopa ibidem nichil quia vacat', even when it follows a Caxton entry, surely is simply a note that nothing was received from the next shop because it was

empty. In the same way the shop let for fourpence a week while Parliament was sitting and that let in 1483-4 for half a crown were probably let not to Caxton but to temporary tenants who were not worth naming. For this compare the entry in 1478-9, 'De alia shopa dimissa diuersis tenentibus per annum, x<sup>s</sup>'. Caxton doubtless needed store rooms for his stock, but he seems to have rented these mainly through the Prior, who enters the receipts in the form 'de W. Caxton pro 'uno tenemento xiijs. iiijd. Item de eodem pro altero, iijs. iiijd. 'Item de eodem pro altera domo, vjs. viijd.', which leaves no room for doubt that all the payments were from the same man. Mr. Crotch's misreading, if it be one, is very unimportant; but it is a pretty question of interpretation.

A. W. P.

*Catalogue of the Frances Taylor Pearson Plimpton collection of Italian books and manuscripts in the library of Wellesley College.* Compiled by MARGARET HASTINGS JACKSON, Professor of Italian in Wellesley College, curator. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press. London, Humphrey Milford. pp. xxiv, 434. 27s. 6d.

IN 1904 Mr. George Arthur presented to Wellesley College, in memory of his wife who had been a student there, a good collection of books illustrating the history of Italian literature more especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. He has since enriched the collection with further gifts, and has now made it possible to issue this printed catalogue of it. The collection contains few notable rarities, the most important books being represented by editions of later date than the first, but still sufficiently early to be interesting. Of lesser writers there are plenty of first editions, but the collection is primarily a library for students who may be well content to read a rare text in any edition they can get, even if it be a little less accurate than the first. Special pains have been taken to secure a rich representation of romances of chivalry, and these are entered in a separate section of the catalogue, with

notes as to the cycle to which they belong—Arthurian, Charlemagne, Amadis and Palmerin, and the burlesques. There is also a section of manuscripts, including a curious one of the *Divina Commedia* written in prison at Verona in 1449 with unusual contractions, supposed to be copied from a much earlier text; also prettily decorated codices of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* and some leaves of the *Monte Comune* or amalgamated city debt of Florence from the ledgers of the districts of Santa Croce and San Giovanni for the years 1397-1400, when this earliest forerunner of a national debt of the modern kind had been in existence for a little over half a century. One of the merits of this catalogue is that it is illustrated with nearly fifty facsimiles, small and large, among which is one (much reduced) from one of these leaves from the bank ledgers. Unfortunately the editor has disregarded the golden rule that, if a facsimile is given, special care must be taken that any transcript from it shall be correct. Save for this unhappy accident the catalogue is a good piece of work and deserves praise for its inclusion of brief biographical notes on many of the authors. It is prefaced by the text of the excellent little address given by Marion Crawford when the books were exhibited at the Grolier Club of New York in 1904.

A. W. P.

*The Poems of Thomas Randolph*. Edited by C. THORN-DRURY. London, Frederick Etchells & Hugh Macdonald, 1929. pp. xxviii, 220. Price 30s.

*The Poems of William Collins*. Edited, with an introductory study, by EDMUND BLUNDEN. London, Frederick Etchells & Hugh Macdonald, 1929. pp. viii, 181. Price 18s.

THE welcome given to these two Haslewood Books must be mainly for their typographical merits, lest we stray into purely literary fields with which bibliography is not concerned. Good book-building may be more freely recognized when it comes to our notice, and both these volumes are good not only in the excellence of their parts, but in their general design. Both

volumes follow the typographical fashions of the time at which their authors wrote, and carry them out with a skill which was not then available, and in each case the main opening showing the frontispiece and title-page is very attractive. The Randolph is printed by Messrs. Richard Clay and Sons, the Collins by the Chiswick Press, and it is particularly pleasant to welcome this latter as fully worthy of the old traditions of the most interesting of nineteenth-century firms. If we may stray so far into the province of literary critics we can cordially congratulate the publishers on their two editors, and note more especially how Mr. Thorn-Drury's austere refusal to give Randolph one whit more praise than he deserves is likely to send readers from preface to text in a mood to be very easily contented with such beauties as they can find.

*Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds.* Collected and edited by FREDERICK WHILEY HILLES, Ph.D., Instructor in English at Yale University. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1929. pp. xxii, 274. Price 10s. 6d.

ANOTHER charmingly printed literary book. It has been very zealously collected and edited by Dr. Hilles.